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CHANGE OF ADDRESS

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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

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No. 1—HISSE-BORALA INSCRIPTION OF DEVASENA, SAKA 380

(*1 Plate*)

SHOBHANA GOKHALE, POONA

(*Received on 6. 4. 1964.*)

In the course of a study tour[1] I visited, on the 21st January 1964, Washim, the ancient Vākāṭaka capital Vatsagulma, in the Akola District of Maharashtra. Shri N. R. Dhanagere, a pleader residing at Washim, informed me about the existence of a stone inscription in the vicinity of the village **Hisse-Bōrālā,** six miles to the south of Washim on the Washim-Hiṅgoli road. After a strenuous search for the inscription in the suggested area, I was led to the find-spot by a villager Shri Phakira Naik by name. The stone bearing the inscription[2] is known to the villagers as 'Demon's Stone'.

Hisse-Bōrālā is a small village with a population of only about 400 persons. The inscribed stone was found in a nullah of the river **Vatsagulmā** which has retained its name to the present day and the name of the Vākāṭaka capital Vatsagulma was apparently derived from the name of this river. At the place where the epigraph was found, there are remains of an ancient brick-wall,[3] beside an old lake. Even to-day this wall is locally called *pāḷu* which means 'bank of a lake'. It is noteworthy that this ancient wall is situated on an excellent catchment area with hills on three sides so that the waters of the nullah as well as the rain waters could be well stored. It is, no doubt, an ideal place for the construction of an artificial lake which, as will be seen presently, is exactly the purport of the inscription on the stone.

The stone slab on which the inscription is engraved, is a variety of basalt stone and was found broken into two pieces when I visited the place. It was shifted to the Collector's office at Akola and while doing so, unfortunately, the first piece was again broken into two pieces with the result that the inscription is now in three fragments. The original slab measured about 122 cm long, 33 cm broad and 23 cm thick.

There are four lines of writing, the fourth line having only 8 letters, engraved, within a bordered area in the middle portion. These letters are slightly smaller in size than those of the first three lines where the average size of each letter is 3 cm. In the first line, about 3 or 4 letters at the beginning and 2 letters in the middle are lost due to the damage caused to the stone. In the third

[1] I am thankful to the University of Poona for sanctioning a research grant which enabled me to undertake this tour.

[2] This is registered as *A. R. Ep.*, 1963-64, No. B 316.

[3] The bricks measure 40×18×19 cm each.

line, the last word *bhōgyam* has been engraved just below the line at the end while the letters *pa* and *gya* have been partially damaged because of the broken end of the slab. Except this, the rest of the inscription is in a fairly good state of preservation. The engraving is also deep and the letters have been clearly formed.

The **characters** of the epigraph belong to the Central Indian variety of Southern alphabets and resemble those of the Ghaṭōtkacha cave inscription of Vyāghrasēna.[1] They are not box-headed as found in many copper-plate grants of the Vākāṭakas. Regarding the palaeographical peculiarities the following remarks may be made. Medial *i* is distinguished from the medial *ī* by a small gap in the circular stroke (see, *asmin*—line 2 and *prithivī*, line 3) ; *ṇa* and *na* are distinguished. The numerical symbols for 300, 80 and 20 occur in the first line. As regards **orthography**, it may be stated that the consonants following *r* are doubled according to the rules of grammar. The medial *ṛi* is substituted by *ri* (cf. *prithivī*, line 3). Scribal errors are noticed in *śrī-Dēvāsanasya* for *śrī-Dēvasēnasya* (line 1) and *tāvammamēdam* for *tāvan=mam=ēdam* (line 3). The **language** of the record is an admixture of Sanskrit prose and verse.

The record refers itself to the reign of the **Vākāṭaka king Dēvasēna** who may be identified with Dēvasēna of the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākāṭakas. It is dated **Śaka 380** corresponding to A. D. 458-59. As stated above, the portion at the beginning of the record consisting of 3 or 4 letters has been lost. The following portion reads : *tasya vrittasya vrā 20*[2] *Saptarshay=ūttara-suvachha* · · *bda*. It is difficult to offer any satisfactory interpretation of this reading. It may, however, be suggested that the two letters preceding the last letter *bda* may be restored as *gatā* so that the expression would be *gatābda* qualifying the following word *Śakānāṁ* and meaning 'when so many years of the Śaka era had elapsed.' This date portion is followed by a prose passage which states that a lake (*saras*) named **Sudarśana** was constructed, for the welfare of all living beings by *ārya* **Svāmilladēva**, an executive officer (*ājñākara*) of the Vākāṭaka king Dēvasēna. Then follows a verse which says that this charitable work (*sat-kīrttanam*) should endure for ever for the enjoyment of all persons. The last sentence which is engraved within a bordered panel informs us that a certain Bappaka was the adviser of this work (i.e., the construction of the lake).

The inscription is **important** in that it **provides the earliest mention of the Śaka year in inscriptions.** Uptil now the Bādāmi Rock Inscription of Chālukya Pulakēśin I dated Śaka 465[3] has been considered to furnish the earliest reference to Śaka year but the discovery of our inscription provides a still earlier reference. Further, the present inscription is the **only record of the Vākāṭakas which is dated in the Śaka year**, the other records of the dynasty being dated in the regnal years of the respective kings. Therefore, it furnishes a basis for the Vākāṭaka chronology, which uptil now, was a matter of conjecture based on the known date of Prabhāvatīguptā, the daughter of the Gupta king Chandragupta II.[4] It may be noted that the date Śaka 380 (=458-59 A.D.) supports the surmise of the scholars like Mirashi[5] and Altekar[6] who referred king Dēvasēna to the middle of the fifth century A.D.

The name of the lake **Sudarśana** is interesting. We learn from the Girnar *praśasti* of Rudradāman I[7] that the famous Sudarśana lake of the Mauryan age at Girinagara in Surāshṭra was

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[1] *Arch. Sur. of West. Ind.*, Vol. IV, plate LX.
[2] This symbol may also stand for the letter *dhī*.
[3] Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 4 ff.
[4] *New Hist. of Ind. People*, Vol. VI, *Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, p. 95.
[5] *IHQ.*, Vol. XXV, p. 148.
[6] *New Hist. of the Ind. People*, Vol. VI, *Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, p. 120.
[7] Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 1 ff.

HISSE-BORALA INSCRIPTION OF DEVASENA, SAKA, 380

(From Photograph)

repaired a little after 150 A.D. by that great Kshatrapa ruler. It was again repaired by the governor of the Gupta king Skandagupta in the Gupta year 138[1] corresponding to 457-58 A.D. i.e. exactly one year prior to the date of our inscription. The lake Sudarśana of the present record appears to have been named after the famous ancient lake at Girinagara.

TEXT[2]

1 Sidham[3] tasya vrittasya[4] vrā 20[5] Sapta-[Rshayūttarasuvachha][6] . . bda[7] **Śak[ā]nā[ṁ] 380 Vākāṭakānāṁ śr[ī]-Dēvāsanasya**[8]

2 rājñaḥ ājñākarēṇa **Svāmilladēvēna** Āryyēṇa asmin=kālē pratishṭhāpitaṁ nāmnā **Sudarśanaṁ** saraḥ sarvva-satva(ttva)-hi-

3 tāya | Chaturyyugānāṁ parivarttanāni śaśāṅka-sūryyau pri(pṛi)thivī cha yāva[t |*] ttā(tā)vamma(n=ma)m=ēdaṁ bhagavat-prasādaṁ[9] sat-kīrttanaṁ sarvva-jan-ōpa-

4 bhō [gyam] [||*][10]

5 Bappakah·=karmm-ōpadēshṭā [||*][11]

POSTSCRIPT

After this article was written, Dr. V. B. Kolte of Nagpur has published his views on the reading and interpretation of the first half of the line in an article in the Marathi weekly *Taruṇ Bhārat* dated 12.4.1964. He reads this portion as follows : *[Madhya-ga]tasya vri(vṛi)ttasya vru(vṛi) 20 Saptarsha-yar=Uttarā[s=ūpari]* [*a* (or *sha*)]*shṭy-aṁśak-ōnē 380.* The portions in the square brackets have been conjecturally restored by Dr. Kolte since they are lost owing to the damaged nature of the slab. He says that according to the *sthalapurāṇa Vatsagulmamāhātmya*, Washim (Vatsagulma) is situated on the *madhya-rēshā* or the central meridian and that Hisse-Bōrālā, the findspot of the record, is located on 20 degrees latitude to the south of Washim. Thus, according to him, the portion at the beginning of the inscription refers to the geographical location where the Sudarśana lake was constructed. This is followed by the statement mentioning the astronomical date of the construction of the lake, viz. when the Seven Seers ((*Saptarshi*) had travelled $\frac{1}{16}$th or $\frac{1}{60}$th degree in the Uttar-Phalgunī *nakshatra* in the year 380 which should be taken as of Śālivāhana Śaka era of 78 A. D. In this connection Dr. Kolte refers to the verse *Āsan=Maghāsu Munayaḥ*, etc. from *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* (Ch. 13, verse 3) according to which the Seven Seers were in Maghā *nakshatra* when Yudhishṭhira was ruling and the year was 2526 pre-Śaka. In

1 Junagadh Rock Inscription of Skandagupta, *CII*, Vol. III, p. 56 ff.

2 From the original and inked impressions.

3 This word is written below the first line in the beginning of which three letters seem to have been lost as the portion of the stone is broken away.

4 The reading does not give any sense.

5 What we have taken to be a symbol for *20* may also be read as *dhi*.

6 The meaning of the expression is not clear, though the reading of the first part of it viz. *Sapta* is certain.

7 This letter is clear in the photograph. The preceding two letters may be restored as *gat-ā*.

8 Read *Dēvasēnasya*.

9 Read *prasādāt*.

10 These two letters are engraved below the last two letters of the line. The metre of this verse is *Upajāti*.

11 This line is engraved in a bordered panel in the middle portion of the stone.

other words, one has to add 2526 years to the Śaka year to obtain the corresponding year of the Yudhishṭhira era at the beginning of which the Seven Seers were in Maghā *nakshatra*. Since it is also stated in the same work that these Seven Seers remain in each *nakshatra* for one hundred years, they were again in Maghā in the Yudhishṭhira year 2700-2800 and in Uttara-Phalgunī in the Yudhishṭhira year 2900-3000 or from Śaka year 374 (2900-2526=374) to 474 (3000-2526=474). This agrees with the year 380 mentioned in the inscription which shows that the Seven Seers had spent six years (*ashṭy-aṁśa* or *shashṭy-aṁśa*) in Uttara-Phalgunī beginning from the year 374 of Śaka era.

No 2—NOTE ON THE DATE OF HISSE-BORALA INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF VAKATAKA DEVASENA.

G. S. Gai and S. Sankaranarayanan, Ootacamund

(*Received on 15. 11. 1965*)

Dr. (Mrs.) Shobhana Gokhale, who has edited this inscription above, pp. 1-4, reads the portion at the beginning of the record as follows :

Siddham tasya vrittasya vrā 20 Sapta- [*rshayūttarasuvachha*] . . . *bda Śak*[*ā*]*nā*[*ṁ*] *380*. She has not been able to offer a satisfactory reading and interpretation of this portion which has suffered damage and which is difficult to understand. In the post-script to the article, she has drawn our attention to the views of Dr. V.B. Kolte relating to this portion published in the Marāṭhi Weekly *Taruṇabhārata*. Dr. Kolte has subsequently published this record in Marāṭhi in the issue of the *Vidarbha Saṁśōdhana Maṇḍaḷa* for 1964, pp. 137-56 and again in English in *Dr. Mirashi Felicitation Volume*, pp. 372 ff., with a facsimile.

Dr. Kolte reads this portion as . . . *tasya vri*(*vṛi*)*ttasya vru* (or *Dhru*) *20 Saptarshaya Uttarās=ū*[*pari a* (or *sha*)]*shṭy-aṁśak-ōnē 300 80*. He thinks that three *aksharas* are lost at the beginning which he restores as *Madhya-ga*. In this connection, he refers to the *Sthala-purāṇa Vatsagulma-māhātmya* and to the views of ancient astronomers who imagined that a *Madhyama-rēkhā* (central meridian), also called *Laṅkārēkhā*, joined the Northern and Southern Poles passing through Laṅkā, Kāñchī, Vatsagulma, Ujjayīnī, etc. Taking into consideration the astronomical importance of the place Washim (ancient Vatsagulma, the capital of the Vākāṭakas) which is only 10 km from Hisse-Borala, the findspot of the inscription recording construction of the lake called Sudarśana, he interprets the first half of the above portion upto the figure *20* as " at the 20th circle (latitude) on the Central meridian " and considers that this circle refers to the place Hisse-Borala.

In the second half of this portion also, Dr. Kolte finds the mention of the astronomical terms which refer to the date of the construction of the lake Sudarśana at Hisse-Borala. He suggests that the reference to Saptarshi here is to the constellation Seven Sages (*Ursa Major*) and interprets this passage as " (in the year) 380—when the Seven Sages (i.e. constellation of *Ursa Major*) were in the (asterism) Uttarā having progressed upto 1/16th part of it (or for six years, i.e. the 1/60th part of 360, the total number of degrees)." In this connection, Dr. Kolte has drawn our attention to two verses in the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*[1] of Varāhamihira according to which the (Seven) Sages were in the Maghā *nakshatra*, when the king Yudhishṭhira was ruling over the earth ; and the period of the king being 2526 years before the commencement of the Śaka era and they (i.e. Seven Sages) remain in each *nakshatra* for a period of 100 years. With the help of these two verses, Dr. Kolte suggests that the Seven Sages were in the Uttarā or Uttara-Phalgunī *nakshatra* during the Yudhishṭhira years 201 to 300 and again during 2901 to 3000. And to find out the corresponding years of the Śaka era, Dr. Kolte deducts 2526 years from the Yudhishṭhira years showing that during the Śaka years 374 to 474, the Seven Sages were in the Uttarā. And according to his reading *ashṭy-aṁśak-ōnē* or *shashṭy-aṁśak-ōnē*, he suggests that these Seven Sages had crossed 1/16th part of the total *aṁśas* and *kalās* (i.e. 800 *kalās*) or 1/60th part of the total number of degrees (i.e. 360). This would mean that they had spent 6 years in the Uttarā-*nakshatra*, commencing from Śaka 374 which would give the date as Śaka 380 as mentioned in the inscription.

[1] Chapter XIII, verses 3 and 4.

Thus according to Dr. Kolte, the date of the construction of the Sudarśana lake is mentioned in astronomical terms as well as in Śaka era while the earlier portion refers to the place of the lake also in astronomical terms.

Dr. Kolte is no doubt right in his suggestion that this portion contains a reference to the position of the constellation Seven Sages in the Uttara-Phalgunī, although he does not read the word *Phalgunī* itself in the text. But we do not agree with his reading and interpretation of this portion of the record in several other respects. We do not think that there is any astronomical reference to the place Hisse-Borala or Washim as suggested by him, nor do we agree with his reading and interpretation of the expression *a*(or *sha*)*shṭy-aṁśakōnē* which, besides being grammatically untenable, is far-fetched. Further, according to his reading, the year 380 is not indicated either by the word *Saṁvat* or *Śaka*.

We propose to read this portion of the text of the record as follows :

Siddham . . . tasya vri(*vṛi*)*ttasya 3000 20 Sapta=Rshaya Uttarāsu Pha*[*lgunī**]*shu Śakān*[*āṁ*] *380*

What is read as *vru* or *dhru* before the numeral 20 by Dr. Kolte should be taken as the numerical symbol for 3000. The same symbol for 3000 occurs in the Nasik Cave inscription of Ushavadāta.[1] The basic symbol which appears like the letter *dhra* stands for 1000 and with the addition of one and two horizontal strokes or hooks to the right side, the figures 2000 and 3000 respectively are denoted. We think that the word *Śakānāṁ* before the figure 380 is fairly clear, though the *anusvāra* over the letter *nā* is obliterated. The letter preceding *Śa* of *Śakānāṁ* is *shu* before which two letters are lost due to the breaking up of the stone but the letter following *su* of *Uttarāsu* is clearly *pha*. We may, therefore, confidently restore this word as *Phalgunīshu* which goes well with the previous word *Uttarāsu* and both of them standing for Uttara-Phalgunī *nakshatra*. Thus, this portion of the record refers to the year 3020 when the Seven Sages were in the Uttara-Phalgunī *nakshatra* and when the corresponding Śaka year was 380.

Now what is this era, the 3020th year of which is mentioned in this inscription as corresponding to Śaka 380 ? In this connection, we can think of only two eras, viz. the Kali and the Yudhishṭhira eras which are of such antiquity. It could not have been the Kali era of 3101 B.C. for the Kali year corresponding to Śaka 380 would be 3559 (3101+380+78). We may, therefore, suggest that it may be the Yudhishṭhira era. We think that the numeral figure 3020 is preceded by the expression mentioning the founder of the era to which it refers just as the numeral 380 is preceded by the expression mentioning the founder of the era as Śaka. The word *vṛittasya* may be understood in the sense of ' famous, well-known'. There is a trace of the medial vowel *u* attached to the letter preceding the letter *t* of *tasya*, which may stand for *su* and since we propose to refer the era to Yudhishṭhira, we may suggest that two letters in the beginning are lost which may be restored as *Dharma*.

Accordingly, the portion of the text of the record under discussion would read [*Dharma-s*]*utasya vṛittasya 3020 Sapta=Rshaya Uttarāsu Phalgunīshu Śakānāṁ 380*. Thus, this entire portion refers only to the date of the record and there is no reference to any 20th circle on the Madhyama-rēkhā as suggested by Dr. Kolte.

Now let us see whether the year 3020 of the Yudhishṭhira era would correspond to the Śālivāhana Śaka year 380 and whether in that year the Seven Sages were in Uttara-Phalgunī *nakshatra* as required.

The two verses from *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* (Ch. XIII, verses 3 and 4) referred to by Dr. Kolte above, read as follows :

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[1] Above, Vol. VIII, plate facing p. 82, line 2.

Āsan=Maghāsu Munayaḥ śāsati pṛithvīṁ Yudhishṭhirē nṛipatau |
shaḍ-dvika-pañcha-dvi-yutaḥ Śaka-kālas=tasya rājñaś=cha ||
Ēk-aik-asmin=ṛikshē śataṁ śataṁ tē charanti varshāṇām | etc.

The verse *Āsan=Maghāsu*, etc. is generally interpreted by the scholars to mean that the Seven Sages were in the Maghā *nakshatra* when the king Yudhishṭhira was ruling over the earth and that the Śaka era began when 2526 years of Yudhishṭhira had elapsed. According to this calculation, Śaka year 380 of our record would correspond to the Yudhishṭhira year 2906 (2526+380) and not to 3020 as stated in the record. And, according to the second verse *Ek-aikasmin=ṛikshē*, etc., the Seven Sages remain for a century in each *nakshatra*. Hence, in the 31st century of the Yudhishṭhira era, the Sages would remain in the Hasta *nakshatra* which is the 31st from the Maghā and not in Uttara-Phalgunī as stated in our record. But these difficulties would be solved if we interpret the expression *shaḍ-dvika-pañcha-dvi-yutaḥ* in the verse *Āsan=Maghāsu*, etc., in a somewhat different manner. In his *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, Varāhamihira uses the numerals with *ka-* ending like *dvi-navaka*,[1] *tri-saptaka*,[2] *ashṭ-āshṭaka*[3] as multiples meaning $2\times9=18$, $3\times7=21$ and $8\times8=64$ respectively. Similarly, we may take *shaḍ-dvika* in the above mentioned verse in the sense of 12 (6×2) so that the number of Yudhishṭhira years would be 2512 at the commencement of the Śaka era and not 2526 as hitherto understood. Further, according to Utpalabhaṭṭa, the earliest commentator on the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, the expression *Śaka-kāla* in this work refers to the era which started when king Vikramāditya exterminated the foreign tribe called Śaka,[4] i.e. the Vikrama Śaka of 57 B.C. and not to the Śālivāhana Śaka of 78 A.D. According to this calculation, Yudhishṭhira ascended the throne in pre-Vikrama Śaka year 2512 and the Yudhishṭhira year for the Śālivāhana Śaka year 380 would be 3027 (2512+57+380+78). This year 3027 would come very near the date 3020 read by us in the text of the record. We are, therefore, tempted to suggest that the word *sapta* before *Ṛishaya* may be regarded as part of the date-portion, since even the simple word *Ṛishayaḥ* would also mean the Seven Sages only just like simple *Munayaḥ* in the verse *Āsan=Māghāsu*, etc. in the *Bṛihatsamhitā*.[5] If this suggestion is accepted, then the date of the record would perfectly agree with the calculation of 3027 arrived at above. In other words, the reading of the date in the record would be *3000 20 sapta* or *3027* which, when referred to the Yudhishṭhira era, regularly corresponded to the Śālivāhana Śaka year 380 as stated in the record.

It now remains to be seen whether in the Yudhishṭhira year 3027 corresponding to Śālivāhana Śaka year 380, the Seven Sages were in the Uttara-Phalgunī *nakshatra* as stated in the inscription under study. We have already seen that according to the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, these Sages were in the Maghā *nakshatra* when Yudhishṭhira ascended the throne and remained in that *nakshatra* from Yudhishṭhira year 1 to 100. But according to the Purāṇic tradition, the Sages were in the Maghā *nakshatra* when Parīkshit, the grandson and successor of Yudhishṭhira, ascended the throne.[6] They remained in that *nakshatra* during the period of Parīskhit year 1 to 100.

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[1] Chapter, VII, verse 18.

[2] Chapter IV, verse 22.

[3] Chapter LII, Verse 55.

[4] Cf. *Śakā nāma Mlēchchha-jātayō rājānaḥ* | *tē yasmin kālē Vikramādityadēvēna vyāpāditāḥ, sa kālō lōkē Śaka iti prasiddhaḥ* | *tasmāt Śakēndra-kālād=ārabhya*, etc. (Bhaṭṭōtpala's commentary on the verse *Gatāni varshāṇi Śakēndra-kālāt*, etc. of the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, Chapter VIII, verse 20).

[5] Cf. also *Kali-Dvāpara-sandhau tu sthitās-tē Pitṛidaivatam Munayō* etc. quoted by Utpala in his commentary under the verse *Āsan=Maghāsu*, etc.

[6] Cf. *Sapta=Ṛshayō Maghā-yuktāḥ kālē Pārīkshitē śatām*, Pargiter, *D. K. A.*, p. 61. However, the *Purāṇas* connect the commencement of Parīkshit's reign with that of the Kali era; see ibid.; cf. also Vṛiddha-Garga, quoted by Utpala on *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, Ch. XIII, verse 2.

We learn from the *Mahābhārata* that Yudhishṭhira retired from his kingdom after ruling for 36 years.[1] So if we deduct these 36 years from the Yudhishṭhira year 3027 mentioned in the inscription, we get the Parīkshit year 2991. Now, according to this Puranic calculation the Sages were in the Uttara-Phalgunī *nakshatra* in the Parīkshit year 201 to 300 and again in the Parīkshit year 2901 to 3000. Therefore, it appears that the author of the inscription had in mind this Parikshīt year 2991 while giving the position of the Sages as remaining in Uttara-Phalgunī *nakshatra*. In other words, he has followed the Puranic tradition in giving the position of the Seven Sages.

We may translate the portion of the text of the record discussed above as follows : " (*In the year*) 3027 of the famous Dharmasuta (i.e. *Yudhishṭhira*) when the Sages were in the Uttara-Phalgunī (*and in the year*) 380 of the (*Śālivāhana*) Śakas."

Besides being the earliest epigraphic record mentioning the Śaka date and the only inscription of the Vākāṭaka dynasty dated in the Śaka era as pointed out by Dr. (Mrs.) Shobhana Gokhale, this inscription is unique in connecting the Yudhishṭhira year with the position of the Seven Sages as well as with the Śālivāhana Śaka year. This method of mentioning the date is not so far met with anywhere else in the whole range of Indian epigraphy.

[1] Cf. *Shaṭ-triṁśē=tha tatō varshē Vṛishṇīnām=anayō-mahān | anyōnyaṁ musalais=tē tu nijaghnuḥ kāla-chōditāḥ ||* *Mahābhārata*, BORI., ed., *Mausaaparvan*, Ch. 2, verse 2 ; and *Śrutv-aiva Kauravō rājā Vṛishṇīnāṁ kadanaṁ mahat | prasthānē matim=ādhāya*, etc. Ibid., *Mahāprasthānikaparvan*, Ch, 1, verse 2.

No. 3—PANDARANGAPALLI GRANT OF RASHTRAKUTA AVIDHEYA

(*1 Plate*)

V. V. Mirashi, Nagpur

(*Received on 12. 2. 1964*)

The plates recording this grant were in the possession of the Patel of a village near Kolhapur in the Maharashtra State. Prof. Kundangar of the Rajaram College, Kolhapur, who obtained them from the owner sent them to Rev. Heras of the St. Xavier's College, Bombay, and the latter made them over to the Mysore Archaeological Department for publication. They were edited with facsimiles by M. H. Krishna in the *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department* for 1929, pp. 197-210. My attention was drawn to this record by an article[1] of the late A. S. Altekar, in which he criticised Krishna's theory of a large Rāshṭrakūṭa Empire extending from the Mahānadī and the Tāpī in the north to the Bhīmā in the south in the sixth century A.D. As the original plates were not accessible to me, I had to depend on their published facsimiles. I then found that Krishna's readings and interpretations were very misleading. I therefore wrote an article[2] entitled 'the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānapura', in which I pointed out the correct readings of a few crucial expressions and also suggested the correct interpretation of this and other cognate records of the Early Rāshṭrakūṭas. My view that there was an early dynasty of the Rāshṭrakūṭas who ruled over Southern Mahārāshṭra in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., and who were contemporaries of the Vākāṭakas has now been generally accepted.[3] As the grant has not, however, been correctly edited and interpreted in any research journal, some scholars[4] have repeated the wrong readings and interpretations of Krishna. I, therefore, wanted to re-edit this grant, but could not trace the original plates. Krishna's article gave only the vague information that it was found in a village near Kolhapur, but did not name the village or state its exact location. From inquiries made of Prof. Kundangar I came to know that the grant was found in the village **Kōrōchī** near Ichalkaranjī in the Hātkaṇagalē Taluk of the former Kolhapur State. I made frequent attempts through Prof. Kundangar and other friends to trace the plates, but they were not successful. Ultimately, I sought the help of my friend Dr. A. N. Upadhye, Professor of the Rajaram College, Kolhapur. On inquiry he found that the family that possessed the plates thirtyfive years ago had undergone partition. No information about the present possessor of the plates was forthcoming. Still, Dr. Upadhye continued his efforts with great patience and, after a continuous search for more than five years, succeeded in tracing them in the possession of Shrimati Chitrabai, widow of Shri Nasargonda Bhimagonda Patil of Kōrōchī. She very kindly agreed to send them to the Nagpur University for decipherment and editing. I am grateful to her for permission to re-edit this most precious record of the Early Rāshṭrakūṭas, which sheds considerable light on the history of the family and incidentally on an incident in the career of the great Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa. The facsimiles that accompany this article are prepared from excellent photographs of the plates very kindly supplied by my friend Shri V. P. Rode, Curator of

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[1] *ABORI*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 148 f.

[2] Ibid., Vol. XXV, pp. 25 f.

[3] See *A New History of the Indian People*, Vol. XI (1954), p. 81, note 1; also *HCIP*, Vol. III, pp. 199 ff.

[4] See Saletore's article in *IHQ.*, Vol. XI, pp 769-778 and G. H. Khare's Marathi book *Śrī-Viṭṭhala āṇi Paṇḍharpur*, 1st ed., p. 7. P. V. Kane's *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. IV, p. 717.

the Central Museum, Nagpur. I feel deeply grateful to Dr. A. N. Upadhye, but for whose persistent efforts this grant would not have again come to light. The plates are now deposited in the Shivaji University, Kolhapur.

The **plates**, three in number, measure 19·1 cm by 6·4 cm and weigh 419·35 grammes. Their edges are not raised or thickened. They contain two records incised at different times. The first record is inscribed on the inner side of the first and third plates and on both the sides of the second. It consists of 29 lines. The second record, which is only two lines and a half, is incised on the outer side of the third plate. As the edges of the plates were not raised, the first record has by friction become indistinct in some places, especially in lines 10 to 14 on the first side of the second plate. The second record, though on the outer side of the third plate, is in a much better condition. The plates are held together by a ring, which is roundish in shape, being ·6 cm thick and about 4·2 cm in diameter. The ring is flattened in the middle to form a **seal**, oblong in shape, measuring 2·2 cm by 1·2 cm. The seal has the figure of a lion facing left, with its right fore-foot raised and its tail arched over the back.

The **characters** are mostly of the nail-headed type, the letters showing in many cases a triangular head with the apex downward. The record is written carelessly and in a cursive hand and in many cases some stroke or other is either imperfectly formed or is not incised at all. It is therefore very difficult to decipher it. The difficulty is increased all the more as the letters have in some places become indistinct owing to the friction of the plates. As regards individual letters, we may note that initial *i* consists of a curve over two dots (see *iv=āśritāt*, line 5); in medial *ī*, the length is denoted by a curling curve (see *-nṛipatīn*, line 8); *k* is cursive in many places, its form then being indistinguishable from *n* (*narakē*, line 24); *ṅ* is distinguished from *j* only by the absence of the middle horizontal stroke (see *Mānāṅka*, line 1); the superscript *ñ* is placed horizontally (see *pañchamyāṁ*, line 29); *ḍ* and *d* are clearly distinguished (see *shaḍ-vargga*, line 9, and *Vidabh-*, line 1); *ṇ* has its upper part in two curves turned in opposite directions (see *śauryyēṇa*, line 3); *t* is generally unlooped and *n* looped (see *Kuntalānāṁ*, line 2), but the opposite forms are also occasionally met with; *bh* is sometimes indistinguishable from *t* (see *yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē*, line 17); *y* is tripartite except when it occurs as a subscript letter (*śāntyā vinayēna*, line 2); *l* has generally a short vertical on the right (see *lōk-āntarasthō*, line 4), but in *chhala*, line 7, the vertical curves over the letter; *v* is generally triangular (see *vinayēna*, line 2), but it often appears in a cursive form (see *Vidarbh-*, line 1). As regards **orthography**, the only point that calls for notice is the reduplication of a consonant after *r* (see *śauryyēṇa* in line 3).

The **language** is **Sanskrit** and the record is composed partly in prose and partly in verse. After the auspicious *Siddham* and *Svasti*, it opens with a verse about **Mānāṅka**, the progenitor of the family. This is followed by seven other verses eulogising him, his son **Dēvarāja** and his grandson, the reigning king **Avidhēya**, and describing the donee. The names Dēvarāja and Avidhēya are shown to be appropriate in their respective cases. This is followed by the formal portion of the grant recording the name of the donee, that of the village granted and the purpose of the grant. Finally, there come four imprecatory and benedictive verses, two being ascribed to Manu[1] and the remaining two to Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas. The last two lines record the name of the scribe Dēvadatta and the date, which is given first fully in words and later in numerical symbols.[2]

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[1] These verses are not, however, found in the *Manusmṛiti*. The first occurs partly in the *Vasishṭhadharmasūtra*, XXIX, 19, and *Bṛihaspati*, v. 19. It also occurs in the *Padmapurāṇa*, VI, 33. It is cited in a late record of V. S. 1176 and occurs there with a slight change. See Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra Literature*, Vol. II, part ii, p. 1276. The second verse occurs in many grants without being ascribed to Manu.

[2] The date in numerical symbols, viz. *Saṁ 10* (+) *5 Kārttika ba. 5*, was misread by Krishna as *Paṇḍarādrīśēna*, which he took to mean ' by the lord of Paṇḍara '. By Paṇḍara he understood Paṇḍharpur. Some other scholars also have taken this to be the earliest reference to Paṇḍharpur.

The grant was made by **Avidhēya,** son of **Dēvarāja** and grandson of **Mānāṅka.** Mānāṅka is described here as one who, by his policy, had terrified **Vidarbha** and **Aśmaka**[1] and as the ruler of the **Kuntala** country.[2] His family is not named here, but as shown later, it was Rāshṭrakūṭa. The **object** of the present inscription is to record the grant of the village **Pāṇḍaraṅgapallī**[3] together with the hamlets of **Kāmyaka** and **Jāula,** situated on the bank of the river **Anēvatī,** to the east of the **Kollagiri** hill. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa **Śambhu** of the Bhārgava *gōtra* with three *pravaras.* The purpose of the grant, which was made on the full-moon day of Kārttika, was to provide for the performance of *vaiśvadēva* and *agnihōtra.* The record is dated on the **fifth tithi of the dark fortnight of Kārttika in the fifteenth**[4] **regnal year** (mentioned both in words and numerical symbols) **in** (the year) **Bhādrapada.** This year is evidently of the **twelve-year cycle of Jupiter.** The date does not admit of verification for want of the necessary details such as a week-day or a *nakshatra.* It may be noted that the month Kārttika was *amānta.*

This royal family first became known when Pandit Bhagwanlal published the Uṇḍikavāṭikā grant of Abhimanyu.[5] It gives the following genealogy—

Mānāṅka
|
Dēvarāja
|
(Not named) — (Not named) — Bhavishya
|
Abhimanyu (son of Bhavishya)

This family is named Rāshṭrakūṭa in the grant. The plates were issued by Abhimanyu while residing at Mānapura and record the grant of the village Uṇḍikavāṭikā to a recluse (*pravrajita*)

1 Krishna's reading *Vasudhādhiba(pa)thi(ti)* is not supported by the original. The letters here are carelessly incised. I adopt the reading *santrasta-Vidarbh-Āśmaka-maṇḍalaḥ* in line 1 suggested by Dr. Gai and I read with some diffidence, the first five letters as *Vasudhā-vidhi.* Dr. Gai has again pointed out that this portion also is metrical.

2 Krishna could not read the correct name *Kuntala* here. He read *śrī-Sātkunta dharā naḥ* and identified Sātkunta with the Sātpuḍā mountain range. The correct reading is *Śrīmān=Kuntalānāṁ praśāsitā* as suggested by Dr. Gai. Dr. D. C. Sircar took this expression to mean 'the chastiser of the Kuntala country' (HCIP, Vol. III, p. 200), but, his interpretation is not correct. The root *śās* no doubt means both 'to govern' and 'to punish', but it has the former sense when its object is a country and the latter, when it is a living being. Cf. *Yō mē praśishyāt nikhilān Surāshṭrān* in line 8 of the Girnar rock inscription of Skandagupta (*CII,* Vol. III, pp. 50 f.) and *śāsanaṁ ripu-śāsanam* on the seals of the Vākāṭakas. For other passages of a similar type, see my *Studies in Indology,* Vol. II, pp. 159 and 165. *Kuntala* is used here in the plural because in Sanskrit the names of countries are used in the plural unless there is a word like *deśa* or *rāshṭra* added to them. The idea of chastising a whole country is farfetched.

3 Krishna also read the village name as *Pāṇḍaraṅgapallī,* but changed it to *Pāṇḍuraṅgapallī* in the discussion of this grant, being evidently influenced by the name of the god Pāṇḍuraṅga at Paṇḍharpur, with whom he wanted to connect this name. The correct reading is undoubtedly *Pāṇḍaraṅgapallī* in line 19 of the present grant.

4 Krishna's reading *rājyakara varisē shōḍaśē* is incorrect. See below, p. 22, note 7.

5 *JBBRAS,* Vol. XVI, pp. 88 ff. This grant was later edited with a fascimile by Hultzsch, above, Vol. VIII, pp. 163 ff.

named Jaṭābhāra in honour of the god Dakshiṇa-Śiva of Pēṭha-Paṅgaraka. The original findspot of the plates has not been recorded, but as they were from the collection of Bhau Daji, they were presumably found somewhere in Western Mahārāshṭra. In the absence of definite information about the provenance of this grant there was no clue available for the identification of the places mentioned in it. But Fleet, who discussed the matter at great length, suggested that Dakshiṇa-Śiva might be the god of the great Śaiva shrine in the Mahādēva hills in the Hoshangabad District of Madhya Pradesh.[1] This god is greatly venerated even at present and there is an annual *yātrā* there in the month of Māgha, which is attended by thousands of people from the neighbouring districts. Fleet proposed to identify *Pēṭha-Paṅgaraka* with Pagārā, the headquarters of a Zamindārī of the same name, about 4 miles to the north of Pachmarhī and Uṇḍikavāṭikā with Oontiā, 30 miles north-northwest from the Mahādēva hills. He was not able to suggest any satisfactory identification of Mānapura, the capital of the dynasty, which was evidently founded by Mānāṅka and named after himself. Pandit Bhagwanlal had suggested its identification with Māḷkhēḍ, which is known as the Rāshṭrakūṭa capital from the later records of the dynasty. Fleet did not accept this identification ; for ' at the time to which the Uṇḍikavāṭikā grant is probably to be referred, namely in or closely about the period 650 to 700 A.D., there could not have been any independent Rāshṭrakūṭas at Mālkhēḍ', and ' the ancient Sanskrit name of Mālkhēḍ has never yet been met with otherwise than in the form Mānyakhēṭa.' Fleet himself first proposed its identification with Mānpur[2] in Malwa, but later he himself rejected it on the ground that it is north of the Narmadā. Another identificaion which suggested itself to him was that of Mānpur near Bāndhōgaḍh in Rewa, but he did not think it possible as it was far away from the Mahādēva peak, being about two hundred miles north-east by east from that locality. He was inclined to think that Mānapura might not be in existence now and that it might be the older name of Sōhāgpur or of Shōbhāpur. The Uṇḍikavāṭikā grant was later edited by Hultzsch.[3] He did not suggest any fresh identification of Mānapura, but thought that it might be Mānpur near Bāndhōgaḍh.

While editing the Khariar plates of Mahā-Sudēvarāja Sten Konow suggested that Mānāṅka might be identical with Mānamātra and Dēvarāja with Sudēvarāja, both belonging to the dynasty known to historians as that of Śarabhapura.[4] The genealogy of the kings of Śarabhapura as then known was as follows[5] :

Prasannamātra

Mahā-Jayarāja

Mānamātra

Mahā-Sudēvarāja

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 509 ff.

[2] Ibid., Vol. XVIII, p. 233. It is the chief town of the Mānpur *parganā* and lies about twelve miles south-east of Mhow.

[3] Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 163 f.

[4] Above, Vol .IX, p. 172. Sten Konow stated in support of his hypothesis that *mātra* and *aṅka* are both stated by lexicographers to mean 'an ornament'. He was, however, doubtful about the identifications.

[5] Since then some more kings of this family have become known, viz. Śarabharāja and Narēndra, the grandfather and father respectively of Prasannamātra, and Mahā-Pravararāja, a brother of Mahā-Sudēvarāja. See my *Studies in Indology*, Vol. II, p. 232.

Though Sten Konow was himself doubtful about these identifications, Jouveau-Dubreuil accepted them and gave a combined genealogy of the two royal families as follows[1] :

Prasanna
(of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family)
|
Mānamātra (*alias* Mānāṅka)
(king of Mānapura)
|
Sudēvarāja
|
Jayarāja — Bhavishya
Bhavishya
|
Abhimanyu

As for the age in which this dynasty flourished, Bhagwanlal referred the Uṇḍikavāṭikā grant of Abhimanyu to the fifth century A.D.[2] on the evidence of palaeography. Fleet, however, relegated it to the second half of the seventh century A.D. Hultzsch cited Fleet's view apparently with approval.[3]

While editing the present grant, Krishna identified Avidhēya as the third son of Dēvarāja whose name had not been mentioned in the Uṇḍikavāṭikā grant. He then put forward the following hypothesis[4] :— Dēvarāja (or Sudēvarāja), son of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Mānāṅka (or Mānamātra) had three sons, viz. Avidhēya, Jayarāja and Bhavishya, among whom was divided the extensive empire of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Mānāṅka, stretching from the Mahānadī and the Tāpī in the north to the Bhīmā in the south, comprising the three Mahārāshṭras. Jayarāja was ruling over the eastern part on the bank of the Mahānadī, Bhavishya over northern Mahārāshṭra and former Madhya Pradesh and Avidhēya over southern Mahārāshṭra, extending to the bank of the Bhīmā. Krishṇa, the son of Indra, and Gōvinda, who are mentioned as defeated by the Chālukya Jayasiṁha and Pulakēśin II respectively belonged to this family, after overthrowing which, Pulakēśin II became the lord of the three Mahārāshṭras.

This hypothesis was contested by Altekar, who pointed out that there could have been no such extensive Rāshṭrakūṭa empire in the sixth century A. D. as supposed by Krishna, because firstly, most of these kings do not call themselves Rāshṭrakūṭas, and secondly, there were other kings such as the Nalas, the Mauryas, the Kalachuris and the Kadambas, who, and not the Rāshṭrakūṭas, were ruling over a major part of Mahārāshṭra.[5]

This controversy drew my attention to the problem. I discussed it in an article entitled ' the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānapura'.[6] I agreed with the main contention of Altekar that there was no extensive Rāshṭrakūṭa empire in the Deccan in the sixth century A.D. before the rise of the

[1] *Ancient History of the Deccan*, pp. 77 f.
[2] *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, p. 89.
[3] Above ,Vol. VIII, p. 164.
[4] *MASR* for 1929, p. 164.
[5] *ABORI*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 148 f.
[6] Ibid., Vol. XXV, pp. 25 f.

Chālukyas of Bādāmī. I showed that the theory of such an empire rested on the identification of Mānāṅka with Mānamātra and of Dēvarāja with Sudēvarāja, for which there was no evidence; for, firstly, there is no convincing reason for the changes in the personal names of these kings; secondly, Jayarāja was an uncle of Sudēvarāja, not his son; thirdly, there is nothing common between the characters and seals of the grants of the descendants of Mānāṅka and those of the descendants of Mānamātra. The charters of the former are inscribed in the western variety of the southern alphabet, while those of the latter are incised in the box-headed characters of Central India. The seals of the charters issued by the former show a lion facing left,[1] while those of the latter have the figure of Gaja-Lakshmī. The family of Mānāṅka cannot, therefore, be identified with that of the kings of Śarabhapura, who were ruling in Dakshiṇa Kōsala or Chhattisgadh. Besides, this country was never known as Mahārāshṭra.

I did not, however, share Altekar's suspicions about the identification of Mānāṅka and Dēvarāja with the homonymous princes described in the Pāṇḍaraṅgapallī grant; for, firstly, the description of Dēvarāja that he was like the lord of the gods (i.e. Indra) occurs in both; secondly, both the grants are inscribed in similar characters; thirdly, the seals of both have the figure of a lion facing left.

The discovery of the present grant of Avidhēya in a village near Kolhāpur shows that this dynasty was ruling over Southern Maharashtra. Mānāṅka, the grandfather of Avidhēya, is described in the present grant as the ruler of the Kuntala country. In ancient times Kuntala comprised the upper valley of the Kṛishṇā as shown by the following verse about Jayasiṁha II of the Later Chālukya dynasty.[2]

विख्यातकृष्णवर्णे तैलस्नेहोपलब्धसरलत्वे ।
कुन्तलविषये नितरां विराजते मल्लिकामोदः ॥

This verse means that Jayasiṁha II, known also as *Mallikāmōda*, shines in the Kuntala country where the well known river Kṛishṇavarṇā (i.e. the Kṛishṇā) flows and where the people are upright (or loyal) on account of their devotion to Tailapa (an ancestor of Jayasiṁha II), just as the fragrance of Mallikā flowers appears attractive in the mass of hair (of ladies), known for its black colour, which becomes uncurled when it is treated with oil.

This verse shows that Southern Mahārāshṭra, watered by the Kṛishṇā was included in the Kuntala country. That the northern limit of Kuntala extended to the Gōdāvarī is also shown by the statement in the *Udayasundarīkathā*,[3] that Pratishṭhāna on the Gōdāvarī was the capital of Kuntala.

Avidhēya was thus ruling over Southern Mahārāshṭra comprising the districts of Satara, Kolhapur and Sholapur. Abhimanyu described in the Uṇḍikavāṭikā grant was also ruling over the same country. His capital Mānapura, which was evidently founded by his ancestor Mānāṅka and named after himself, need not be located so far in the north as Malwa or Baghelkhaṇḍ. It can be more satisfactorily identified with Māṇ, the chief town of the Māṇ Taluk of the Satara District in Southern Mahārāshṭra. The places mentioned in the Uṇḍikavāṭikā grant can be located more satisfactorily in the Satara District. Thus, Uṇḍikavāṭikā, the donated village, may be Undāḷe in the Karhad Taluk of the Satara District. Pēṭhapaṅgaraka, where the temple of Dakshiṇa-

[1] On the seal of Māṇa *alias* Vibhurāja, who also belonged to this family as shown below, there appear a *kamaṇḍalu*, a rosary of beads and a *daṇḍa*. See above, Vol. XXIX, plate facing p. 177.

[2] Above, Vol. XII, p. 153.

[3] See कुन्तलेषु तटे गोदावरीति महासरितः प्रतिष्ठानं नाम नगरम् । *Udayasundarīkathā* (G.O.S.), p. 21. Also cf. प्रतिष्ठाननगरपरमेश्वरः कुन्तलानामधीश्वरो राजा मलयवाहनो भवान् ।

Śiva was situated, may be identical with Pāṅgārī in the Māṇ Taluk. As the findspot of the Uṇḍikavāṭikā grant was not recorded, there was previously no clue available for the location of the places mentioned in it. The discovery of the present grant near Kolhapur and the statement in it that Mānāṅka, the progenitor of the family was ruling over Kuntala show that the places mentioned in the Uṇḍikavāṭikā grant must be searched for in the Southern Maratha country and not in the distant Hoshangabad District of Madhya Pradesh. That they can be more satisfactorily located in the Satara District has already been shown.

The places mentioned in the present grant can also be located in the Satara District. Thus the river **Anēvatī** is probably identical with Yennā (also called Vēṇā) which, being one of the chief feeders of the Kṛishṇā,[1] rises in the Mahābaḷēshwar plateau and falls into a valley to the east of the Mahābaḷēshvar hill, which may be the **Kollagiri** mentioned in the present grant. No village exactly corresponding to **Pāṇḍaraṅgapallī** can now be located in the Satara District, but **Jāuli,** one of its hamlets, may be identical with the village Jāvaḷī in the Wāi Taluk of that district, which has become famous in Maratha history. No better identifications of these places have been proposed by Krishna.[2]

This royal family, though not named in the present record, was known as Rāshṭrakūṭa as explicitly stated in the Uṇḍikavāṭikā grant. One more grant of this family has recently been found at Hingni Berdi in the Dhond Taluka of the Poona District,[3] from which we have come to know the name Māṇa *alias* Vibhurāja of the third son of Dēvarāja. The genealogy of these Early Rāshṭrakūṭas may therefore be stated as follows :

Mānāṅka
|
Dēvarāja
|
Māṇa *alias* Vibhurāja — Avidhēya — Bhavishya
|
Abhimanyu (son of Bhavishya)

When did this Rāshṭrakūṭa family flourish ? Bhagwanlal referred the Uṇḍikavāṭikā grant to the fifth century A.D.,[4] while Fleet relegated it to the second half of the seventh century A.D.[5] The mention of a year (viz. Bhādrapada) of the twelve-year cycle of Jupiter in the present grant shows the correctness of Bhagwanlal's view ; for such years were not cited in South India after the sixth century A.D.[6] These Early Rāshṭrakūṭas were thus contemporaries of the Traikūṭakas, who were ruling over North Koṅkaṇ, Gujarat and Northern Mahārāshṭra, and also of the Vākāṭakas, who held Vidarbha from the third to the fifth century A.D. They were probably known in their days as *Kuntalēśas* or lords of Kuntala ; for as shown above, Mānāṅka, the progenitor

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[1] Krishna read Anēvarī in place of Anēvatī and took it as the name of a village, but the word *kūlē* which follows shows that it was preceded by the name of a river. Krishna identified Anevari with the village Anevali near Paṇḍharpur. He identified Pāṇḍaraṅgapallī with Paṇḍharpur, but the latter is on the bank of the Bhīmā.

[2] Krishna read *Chāla-Kandaka-Duddapalli-sahitā* in place of my readings *kūlē Kāmyaka-Jāula-vāṭikā- sahitā* in line 18. He identified the first with the village Chāla on the right bank of the Bhīmā and the second with Kondarki, southwest of Chāla. He could not identify Duddapalli. He identified Pāṇḍaraṅgapalli with Paṇḍharpur.

[3] Above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 174 f.

[4] *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, p. 89.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 233.

[6] The years of the twelve-year cycle of Jupiter have been noticed in the records of the Kadambas (*Ind. An* Vol. VII, pp. 35 f and Vol. VI, pp. 24 f), a feudatory of the Early Kalachuris (*CII*, Vol. IV, p. 613) and the kings of Kaliṅga (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 48). None of these dates is later than the sixth century A.D.

of the family, is described in the present grant as the ruler of Kuntala. The records of the Vākāṭakas contain occasional references to their clashes or their matrimonial alliances with the kings of Kuntala. The inscription in Cave XVI at Ajaṇṭā, for instance, mentions that Vindhyasēna (or Vindhyaśakti II as he is called in the Bāsim plates) of the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākāṭaka family, defeated the lord of Kuntala.[1] As the kingdom of these Early Rāshṭrakūṭas was conterminous with that of the Vākāṭakas of Vatsagulma, this victory of Vindhyasēna must have been gained over these Rāshṭrakūṭas. Mānāṅka, on the other hand, claims to have terrified Vidarbha. These references may be to the same indecisive battle or to different skirmishes. Mānāṅka was probably a contemporary of Vindhyasēna, who, as I have shown elsewhere, flourished about 355 to 400 A.D.[2] The Purāṇas state that Pravīra (i.e. Pravarasēna I) had four sons, all of whom became kings.[3] Pravarasēna I, who performed several Śrauta sacrifices including four Aśvamēdhas, was the most powerful king of his age. He assumed the title *Samrāṭ* and had evidently a large empire. Of his four sons, two are known to have founded the Nandivardhana and Vatsagulma branches of the Vākāṭaka family. The country over which the other two sons were ruling have not yet been identified. One of these sons may have been holding Kuntala or Southern Mahārāshṭra. His descendants seem to have been ousted by Mānāṅka in the last quarter of the fourth century A.D. This may have led to the hostilities between him and Vindhyasēna. The relations between the two royal families seem to have improved in course of time probably because both of them came under the influence of the mighty Gupta king Chandragupta II-Vikramāditya, as shown below. The Bālāghāṭ plates of Pṛithivīshēṇa II state that the Vākāṭaka king's father Narēndrasēna married Ajjhitabhaṭṭārikā, the daughter of the lord of Kuntala.[4] This princess also may have been of the Rāshṭrakūṭa lineage. Finally, the aforementioned Ajaṇṭā inscription records the victory of Harishēṇa, the last known Vākāṭaka king, over the lord of Kuntala,[5] which also must have been over this very family. The Kuntala king then became a feudatory of the Vākāṭakas. The *Daśakumāracharita*, which in its eighth *uchchhvāsa* describes the reign of the son and successor of Harishēṇa, mentions the lord of Kuntala as the foremost of the feudatories of the king of Vidarba (i.e. of the contemporary Vākāṭaka king).[6] These references to *Kuntalēśas* were until recently understood as referring to the Kadambas of Vanavāsī, but the country of the Kadambas was not conterminous with that of the Vākāṭakas as no records of the Kadambas have been found in Southern Mahārāshṭra. Again, the *Daśakumāracharita* states in the aforementioned *uchchhvāsa* that the king of Kuntala was different from Vānavāsya or the ruler of Vanavāsī. When the latter invaded Vidarbha, the former with other feudatories rallied under the banner of his suzerain, the king of Vidarbha. It seems best, therefore, to identify the *Kuntalēśas* mentioned in the Vākāṭaka records and the *Daśakumāracharita* with the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānapura.

From certain passages in the *Kuntalēśvaradautya*, a Sanskrit work ascribed to Kālidāsa, which have been cited in the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*[7] of Rājaśēkhara, the *Śṛiṅgāraprakāśa*[8] and the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*[9] of Bhōja and the *Auchityavichāracharchā*[10] of Kshēmēndra, it seems

[1] *CII*, Vol. V, p. 108.
[2] Ibid., Vol. V, p. vi.
[3] *DKA*, p. 50.
[4] *CII*, Vol. V, p. 81.
[5] Ibid., p. 108.
[6] *Studies in Indology, Vol.* II, pp. 165 f.
[7] *Kāvyāmīmāṁsā* (G.O.S.), pp. 61-62.
[8] *Śṛiṅgāraprakāśa* (Madras ed., 1926), Chapters xxii-xxiv, Introduction, p. xxii.
[9] Nirṇayasāgar Press ed., p. 168.
[10] *Kāvyamālā*, Guchchha I (Nirṇayasāgar Press ed.), pp. 139-140.

that the famous Gupta king Chandragupta II—Vikramāditya sent Kālidāsa as an ambassador to the court of a ruler of Kuntala. Kālidāsa was not at first well received there, but he gradually gained the Kuntalēśa's favour and stayed at his court for some days. When he returned to the capital, he reported to Vikramāditya that the lord of Kuntala was spending his time in enjoyment, throwing the responsibility of governing the kingdom on him, i.e. Vikramāditya.[1] This Kuntalēśa has been identified by some with the Kadamba king Kākusthavarman, while others take him to be the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasēna II. Neither of these suppositions is likely to be correct. As for the first identification, we have no definite evidence of this embassy of Kālidāsa in Kadamba records. The Tāḷgunda inscription merely states that the Kadamba king Kākusthavarman gave his daughters in marriage to the Gupta and other kings. As for the second, Gupta influence was no doubt predominant at the Vākāṭaka court during the reign of Pravarasēna II and Kālidāsa appears to have stayed at the Vākāṭaka capital Nandivardhana for a few days. He refers in the *Mēghadūta* to Rāmagiri (Rāmṭēk near the Vākāṭaka capital Nandivardhana) as the place of the Yaksha's sojourn during his exile. He is also said to have composed the *Sētubandha* for *Mahārāja* Pravarasēna (II) by the order of *Mahārājādhirāja* Vikramāditya (i.e. Chandragupta II).[2] The identification of Kuntalēśa with Pravarasēna II, is not, however, likely; for the Vākāṭakas never called themselves *Kuntalēśas* and their rule does not seem to have extended to Kuntala in that age, though some of them are known to have raided it. On the other hand, a Vākāṭaka king (viz. Narēndrasēna) is known to have married a Kuntala princess as shown above. The Vākāṭakas were, therefore, different from the kings of Kuntala. The Kuntalēśa to whose court Kālidāsa was sent as an ambassador was probably an early member of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty of Mānapura, perhaps Dēvarāja, who flourished in *circa* 400-425 A.D. This influence of Chandragupta at the court of two such important royal families of the South as the Vākāṭakas and the Early Rāshṭrakūṭas corroborates the statement in the Meharauli pillar inscription that even then (i.e. after the death of Chandra or Chandragupta) the southern ocean was perfumed by the breezes of his prowess.

Harishēṇa's raid on Kuntala does not appear to have resulted in the extermination of this Rāshṭrakūṭa family. He may have contented himself with exacting a tribute from it as he appears to have done in the case of some other rulers such as the Traikūṭakas.[3] We know of some other Rāshṭrakūṭa rulers of this period, who also may have belonged to this family. The Rāshṭrakūṭa king Dējja-Mahārāja, for instance, a copper-plate grant by whose feudatory was discovered at Gōkāk in the Belgaum District,[4] may have belonged to this very family. The record was issued when 845 years of the Āguptāyika kings had expired. This date is shown to correspond to 532-33 A.D. Dējja-Mahārāja may therefore have been a descendant of Abhimanyu.

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[1] Kālidāsa is said to have reported to Vikramāditya as follows :

असकलहसितत्वात्क्षालितानीव कान्त्या
मुकुलितनयनत्वाद्व्यक्तकर्णोत्पलानि ।
पिबति मधुसुगन्धीन्याननानि प्रियाणां
त्वयि विनिहितभारः कुन्तलानामधीशः ।।

cf. *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* (G.O.S.), pp. 60-61.

[2] Cf. इह तावन्महाराजप्रवरसेननिमित्तं महाराजाधिराजविक्रमादित्येनाज्ञप्तो निखिलकविचक्रचूडामणिः कालिदासमहाशयः सेतुबन्धप्रबन्धं चिकीर्षुः......मङ्गलमाचरन्नाह । सेतुबन्धम्, Nirṇayasāgar ed., p. 3.

[3] The Traikūṭaka dynasty continued to rule till at least the first quarter of the sixth century A.D. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. XLIV.

[4] Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 289 ff.

Some records of the Later Chālukyas state that Jayasiṁha of the Early Chālukya dynasty of Bādāmī defeated the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Indra, the son of Kṛishṇa.[1] As Altekar has pointed out, this statement occurs in very late records composed more than five centuries after the event. So one cannot be sure that these kings actually reigned in the sixth century A.D. But Gōvinda, who invaded with his troop of elephants the territory to the north of the Bhīmarathī (i.e. the Bhīmā, a tributary of the Kṛishṇā) at the time of the accession of Pulakēśin II,[2] may have belonged to the Rāshṭrakūṭa family as conjectured by R. G. Bhandarkar.[3] This king could not, however, have been the great-grandfather of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa I as supposed by Bhandarkar; for the interval between these kings is too large to be covered by three generations.

The Aihoḷe inscription states that this Gōvinda immediately obtained a reward for the services he rendered to Pulakēśin II. Ravikīrti, the author of the Aihoḷe *praśasti*, is unfortunately not explicit on this matter, but he undoubtedly implies that Gōvinda was won over and induced to turn back. The very fact that Pulakēśin II thought it wise to adopt conciliatory measures in dealing with him shows that he was a powerful foe. His descendants do not, however, seem to have held Mahārāshṭra for a long time ; for Pulakēśin soon annexed both Northern and Southern Mahārāshṭras and extended the northern limit of his empire to the bank of the Narmadā. That he ousted the Rāshṭrakūṭas from Southern Mahārāshṭra is shown by the Sātārā plates of his brother Vishṇuvardhana, which record the grant of a village on the southern bank of the Bhīmā.[4]

As for the **localities** mentioned in this grant, Dr. Sircar identifies **Vidarbha** and **Aśmaka** with the kingdom of the Vākāṭakas of Berar and that of the Vākāṭakas of Vatsagulma respectively.[5] Aśmaka lay, however, to the south of the Gōdāvarī. The *Suttanipāta* states that the Aśmakas were settled in the vicinity of the Gōdāvarī and that their country bordered on that of Mūlaka.[6] The disciples of the Brāhmaṇa Bāvari, who were living on the bank of the Gōdāvarī in the country of Aśmaka, proceeded to North India *via* Pratishṭhāna (modern Paiṭhaṇ), the capital of Mūlaka. Aśmaka was thus situated to the south of the Gōdāvarī and probably comprised parts of the Ahmadnagar and Bhir Districts. Aśmaka cannot correspond to the kingdom of the Vākāṭakas of Vatsagulma; for in his *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* Rājaśēkhara states explicitly that Vatsagulma was situated in Vidarbha.[7] In the eighth *uchchhvāsa* of the *Daśakumāracharita* the king of Aśmaka is described as a feudatory of the king of Vidarbha. Aśmaka was, therefore, different from Vidarbha, the southern boundary of which extended to the Gōdāvarī. **Kuntala** has already been shown to have comprised the upper valley of the Kṛishṇā. **Pāṇḍaraṅgapallī, Kāmyaka** and **Jāula** were situated in the Satara District as shown above.[8] **Paviddhaka** cannot be identified in the Satara District.

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[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 17.

[2] Above, Vol. VI, p. 9.

[3] *Early History of the Deccan* (Collected works of R. G. Bhandarkar, Vol. III), p. 170.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 303 f.

[5] *HCIP.*, Vol. III, p. 200.

[6] Cf. सो अस्सकस विसये मूलकस्स समासने ।
वसी गोदावरीकूले उञ्-छेन च फलेन च ।।
Pārāyaṇavagga, Vatthugāthā, 5, 2.

[7] Cf. तत्रास्ति मनोजन्मनो देवस्य क्रीडावासो विदर्भेषु वत्सगुल्मं नाम नगरम् । *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* (G.O.S.), p. 10.

[8] *Satara District Gazetteer*, Revised Ed., p. 927.

Shri N. L. Rao suggests its identification with Pavițhagē or Pāviṭṭagē mentioned in the Sāloṭgi pillar inscription. It may in that case be identified with Sāloṭgi in the Indi Taluka of the Bijapur District.

We shall now turn to the second record incised on the outer side of the third plate. As stated before, it consists of only two lines and a half. The **characters** are Kannaḍa of about the ninth century A.D. The following peculiarities may be noted. The medial *i* has in most cases the form of a complete curve. The loop of *k* and *r* is carried up to join the middle or top horizontal line; the letter *ḍ* is distinguished from *d* by curving the end on the right; *b* has an indented form; the left limb of *y* is in the form of a hook. The **language** is early Kannaḍa and the whole record is in prose.

Krishna translated this inscription as follows: "This grant was made by Sarbarasa, the lord of Kannavāḍa, Gaṅgavāḍa, Beḷeyavāḍa, Rerṇāḍāḷa and Siyaḷāra. The plates were prepared by Śembāja of Śintargē."[1]

Krishna suggested the following identifications of place-names. (1) Kannavāḍa or the Kanna country has been referred to in an inscription of the Early Chālukya king Vikramāditya I and appears to have included the village Kandugal near Sholapur and the neighbouring districts of Bombay and Hyderabad. (2) Gaṅgavāḍa is the country of the Gaṅgas, comprising the neighbourhood of Mysore. (3) Baḷeyavāḍa may be Belgaon Tarhala near Nasik. (4) Rerṇāḍāḷa is the country of Rendāḷ near Kolhapur. (5) Sīyaḷāra is the country of the Śilāhāras in the neighbourhood of Kolhapur and Konkan.[2]

Krishna identified Sarbarasa with the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor Śarva *alias* Amōghavarsha I, who ruled from *circa* 813 to 878 A.D. As the inscription makes no mention of the titles of the king nor of his victories in Malwa and Veṅgī, Krishna concluded that the present confirmation of the earlier grant was made early in the reign of Amōghavarsha I.

Many of the readings and interpretations of Krishna appear wide of the mark. They are open to the following objections.

(1) If Sarbarasa of this later inscription was the great Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor Amōghavarsha I, how is it that no royal titles such as *Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara* are prefixed to his name? That the inscription was incised early in his reign is no reason for their absence.

(2) What is the purpose in mentioning such places as Kannavāḍa, Gaṅgavāḍa, and Siyaḷāra, which, if Krishna's identifications are correct, were separated by hundreds of miles? Would not the drafter of the record have used such names of countries as Kuntala, Koṅkaṇa, etc.? Rerṇāḍāḷa occurs nowhere else and there is no point in calling Amōghavarsha I the lord of the village Rerṇāḍāḷa.

(3) Krishna takes the last sentence to mean that the plates were prepared by one Śembāja of Śintargē. Are we to suppose that the name of the coppersmith was remembered for four or five centuries?

For these reasons Krishna's indentifications and interpretation of this record do not appear to be correct. As this later inscription is in Kannaḍa, I sought the help of my friend Shri N. L.

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[1] *MASR.* for **1929, p. 209.**

[2] Loc. cit., p. 210.

Rao, Retired Government Epigraphist for India, who is at present in Nagpur. He kindly translated the record as follows :

"**Sarbarasa**, the lord of **Kannavāḍa, Gaṅgavāḍa, Baḷeyavāḍa, Rerṇāḍāḷa** and **Siyaḷāṟa**, gave the village of **Śintargē** together with **Aṟumbāḷige.**"

This translation gives a much better sense than Krishna's. Most of these places can be satisfactorily identified in the Kolhapur District, where the plates were discovered. Thus, Kannavāḍa is Kanvāḍ in the Shiroḷ Taluk ; Gaṅgavāḍa is Ghānavaḍē in the Karvir Taluk ; Baḷeyavāḍa is Belēvāḍī in the Kāgal Taluk ; Rērṇāḍāḷa is Rendāḷ in the Hātkaṇagale Tāluk ; Sīyaḷāra is Shirāḷe in the Shāhuvāḍī or that in the Bāvaḍā Taluk ; Śintargē may be Śitur in the Shāhuvāḍī Taluk and finally, Āṟumbāḷigē is Bāliṅgē in the Karvir taluk.

The villages mentioned in this later inscription thus lie within a few miles from Kōrōchī, where the plates were found. We have seen above that the original inscription records the grant of a village with two attached hamlets in the Satara District. It seems that the donee of the original grant or one of his descendants migrated to the Kolhāpur region. Sarabarsa, who made the later grant, has no royal titles prefixed to his name. He appears to be a petty Ināmdar, owning a few villages. He made the gift of the two villages mentioned in the later inscription perhaps to the same family which had the plates in its possession. So he did not take the trouble to get a fresh copper plate made for recording his gift. He just recorded it on the outer blank side of the third plate.

There is thus not an iota of evidence for Krishna's conjecture that the later inscription is of the time of the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor Amōghavarsha I and records his confirmation of the earlier grant.

TEXT[1]

[Metres : Verses 1, 3, 6-12 *Anushṭubh* ; verse 2 *Vaṁśastha* ; verses 4-5 *Indravajrā*] ;

First Plate

1 सिद्धम्[2] [।*] [स्वस्ति] [।*] वस(सु)धाविध(धिं)[3]सन्नस्तविदभा(र्भा)श्मकमण्डल: [।*] मानाङ्कनृपति:

2 श्रीमान्कुन्तलानां प्र[शा]सिता[4] [।।१।।*] प्रजासु शान्त्या विनयेन साध(धु)षु

3 द्विषत्सु शौर्य्येण नयेन राजसु [।*] त्यागेन सर्व्वत्र च यः प्र-

4 का[श]ते लोकान्तरस्थोपि गुणैरिह स्थितैः [।।२।।*] देवराजः सुत-

5 स्तस्य देवराज इवाश्रितात्(तान्) [।*] चकारासमसंपत्तोनि(न्नि)रत्ययसु-

6 खोदयान्[5] [।।३।।*] छद्मव्यतीतं विनयेन शौर्य्यं त्यागोर्थिनां[6] सूरि[भि]रप्र-

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[1] From the original plates. I am thankful to Shri N. L. Rao and Dr. Gai for the readings of a few words.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

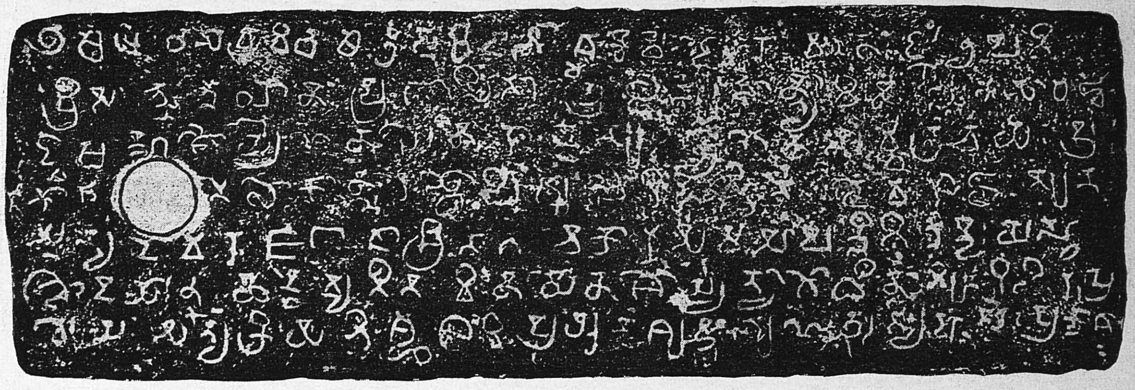
[3] The reading of these five *aksharas* is uncertain. Krishna's reading वसुधाधिबथि which he emended into वसुधाधिपतिः is not supported by the original and is unlikely in the context.

[4] Krishna read श्रीसात्कुन्तधरा नः which makes no sense and is clearly inadmissible.

[5] Krishna's reading चकारासमसंपत्तिं धीरत्वे यस्स्वतो जयान् makes no sense.

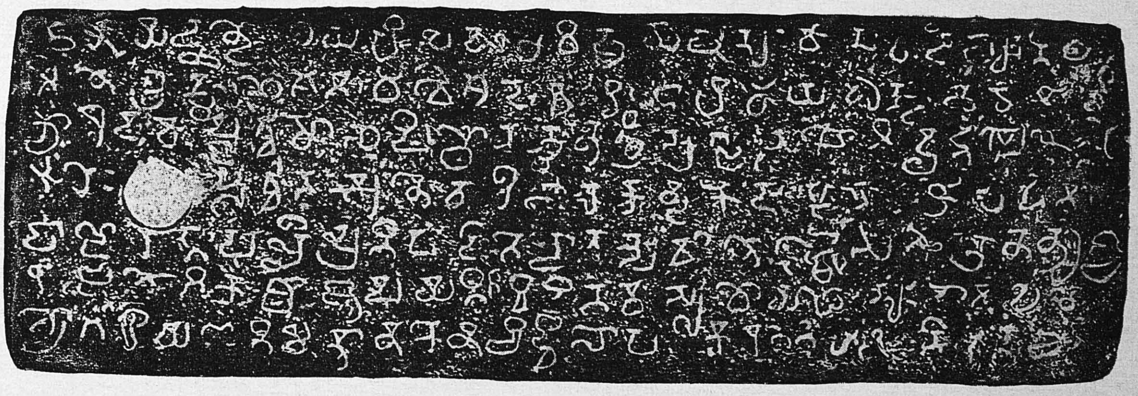
[6] Krishna read शौर्य्यंत्यागादिना, but this does not suit the context.

i

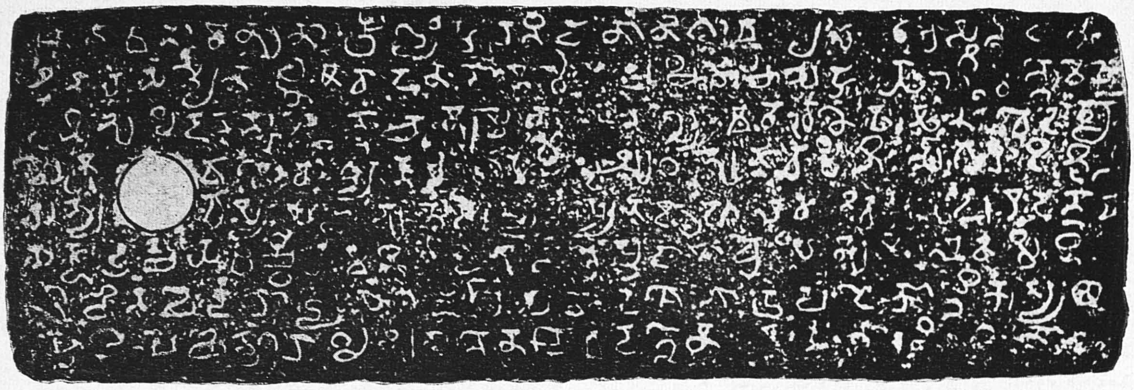


ii, a

ii, b



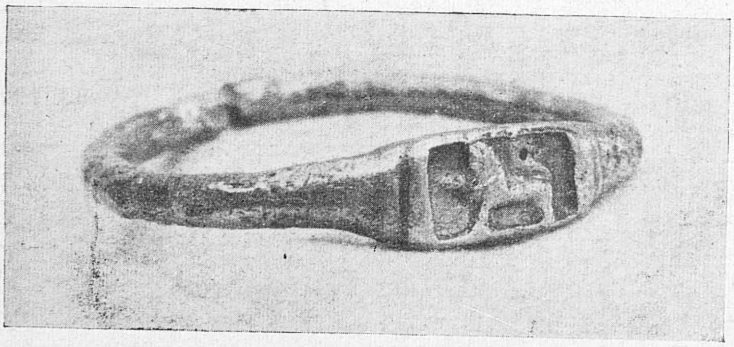
iii, a



iii, b

Scale : Three-fourth

SEAL



(from Photograph)

6934 A

7 मेय: [।*] सत्यं क्रियाभिश्छलविप्रयुक्तं शुद्धा गुणा[स्त]स्य प[रैः] प्रकाशाः[1]
[।।४।।*]

Second Plate, First Side

8 तस्यापि सूनुर्नृपतीन्विजेता प्रत्नान्नवीनोपि गुणैर्व्विशुद्धैः [।*]
9 षड्वर्ग्गशत्रोरविधेयकारी राजा यतस्तेन किलाविधेयः [।।५।।*]
10 अर्थितमात्रदात(न)स्य[2] तस्य दातुर्ग्गुणोचितं(तम्) [।*] कृतं प्रणयिलो[क]-
11 स्य[3] स्वस्त्याद्यपि दुनोति यं(यम्)[4] [।।६।।*] प्रदातुः प्रियमस्येति पूरिताशोपि
12 याचकः[5] [।*] सेवया[6]. .वाञ्छया [।।७।।*] तेन विप्रो-
13 [त्तमायेह][7]. [।*] [षड*]ङ्गविदे सार्थं तत्व(त्त्व)ज्ञानवि-
14 पश्चिते [।।८।।*] [भार्ग्गवसगोत्राय त्रिप्रवराय][8] पविद्धकस्थनाभि-

Second Plate, Second Side

15 जनाय[9] च्छन्दो[गा]य [त्रिसहस्र]वि[द्या]य[10] चतुःवेद(चतुर्वेद)विदे [य]तिध-
16 र्मिने(णे)[11] ब्राह्मणशभा[व][12] वै[श्व]देव(वा)[ग्नि]होत्र[क्रि]य(या)द्यु[त्स]ग(र्गा)[य][13] [का]र्त्ति..
17 क्या[मु]दकपूर्व्वं मा[ता]पि[त्रो]रात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभि[वृद्धये][14] कोल्ल[15]-

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[1] Krishna read बभुः प्रकाशाः, but the first word though imperfectly incised cannot be read as बभुः.

[2] Krishna read अधीतमात्रदात. He did not attempt any reading of the next nine *aksharas*.

[3] Krishna read कृतप्रणयनैर्नृपै, but the reading does not suit the context.

[4] Krishna read प्रणौतीयम्, but the reading does not suit the metre and the context.

[5] Krishan read प्रदातं प्रियमश्य गीः पूरिताशोपि सच्चक्रः, but this gives no sense.

[6] The following ten *aksharas* are completely effaced.

[7] Krishna read विप्राय. The letters in this line are completely effaced except at the end.

[8] There are very faint traces of these *akshaars*.

[9] Krishna read जयव्विट्ठायोपविद्वरस्थानाभिषिक्ताय, Some scholars have made much capital out of the name जयव्विट्ठ as anticipating that of the god Viṭṭhala of Paṇḍharpur, but there are no traces of the name on the original plate. अभिषिक्ताय is plainly out of place in the context.

[10] The reading here is uncertain as the letters are imperfectly formed. Krishna read विसदत्रिविद्याय.

[11] Krishna read पण्डितायातिधर्मिणे.

[12] Read ब्राह्मणशम्भवे. Krishna read these and the following letters in this line as follows— ब्राह्मणशतामधंशद् बिरिदविनयाद्यष्टभरतवा. This makes no sense.

[13] Usually the expression is क्रियाद्युत्सर्पणार्थम्.

[14] Here also Krishna's following reading makes no sense: क्याएदमष्टर्धमासपिण्डादात्मनः प्रजायशोवद्धये ।

[15] Krishna read महादेव here; but the *aksharas* are imperfectly formed. Shri N. L. Rao's suggestion कोल्ल- has been adopted above.

18 गिरेः पूर्व्वतः अने[वती][1]कूले काम्यकजा[उ]ल[वाटि*]का[स]हिता[2]

19 पाण्डरङ्गपल्ली प्रति[पा]दितेत्या(त्य)[वगं]त[व्य]मिति [।*] [अ]स्मस[त्स]गोत्रानन्यांश्च[3]

20 राज्ञो भोगिकांश्चाज्ञापयति ।। वि[दि]तमस्तु वो यथा भू[दानं सर्वे]-[4]

21 भ्यो गरीय इति मत्वा न केनचिद्विलोपः करणीय [इ]ति [।*] [उ]क्तञ्च

Third Plate, First Side

22 भगवता मनुना । त्रीण्याहुरतिदानानि गावः [पृथ्वी] [स]रस्वती [।*] आस(श)-

23 तं त(ता)रयंत्येत(ते) ज्ञानवाहनदोह[नैः][5] [।।९।।*] षषि(ष्टि) [व]र्षसह[स्रा]णि [स्व]-
ग्र्गे मो-

24 दति भु(भू)मिदः [।*] आ[च्छे]त्ता चानुमन्ता [च*] तान्येव नरके वसेत्
[।।१०।।] वेदव्या-

25 सेन वा(व्या)सेना[प्यु]क्तम् [।*] [बहुभिर्व]सुध(धा) भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभि[:] [।*]

26 य[स्य] यस्य यदा भू[मि]स्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् [।।११।।*] स्व[दत्तां]
परदत्तां [वा][6]

27 य[त्ना]द्रक्ष य(यु)धिष्ठिर [।*] महि(ही') [म]हि(ही)भ(भु)जां श्रष्ठ दाना[च्छ्रे यो]नु-
[पा]लनमिति(पालनम् ।।१२।। इति ।)

28 लिखितञ्चेदं राज्यसंव[त्स]रे[7] प[ञ्च]दशे भाद्रपदे कार्त्तिकस्य ब-

29 हुलपञ्चम्यां राजानु[म]तेन देवदत्तेन । सं १० ५ [कार्त्तिक] ब ५[8] [।।*]

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[1] These *aksharas* are imperfectly formed, but the following word कूले shows that a river is meant.

[2] Krishna read **अनेवरिचालकन्दकदुद्दपल्लिसहिता ।** This is inadmissible.

[3] Krishna read **जात्यां सच्छात्रानन्यांश्च ।** This is incorrect.

[4] Krishna read **यागिभ्यः दानम्परेभ्यः** and remarked, 'The text is not clear here'. Our reading gives good sense and is almost certain.

[5] This verse does not occur in the *Manusmṛiti*. It occurs in the Sevadi inscription of Chāhamāna Ratnapāla, dated V. S. 1176; but there the second half reads as follows: **आसप्तमं फलमित्येते (फलन्त्येते) दानवाहनिवेदने (नैः) ।।** (Above, Vol. XI, p. 312.) Krishna could read only **त्रीण्यं हरति दानानि गाव ।** It will be noticed that **ज्ञान, वाहन** and **दोहन** are to be connected with **गावः, पृथिवी** and **सरस्वती** in the reverse order.

[6] Krishna read **पूर्वदत्तां द्विजातिभ्यः**, which is wide of the mark.

[7] Krishna's reading **राज्यकरवरिसे षोडशे** is manifestly incorrect.

[8] Krishna's wrong reading **पण्डराद्विशेन** has misled many scholars. See, above, p. 10, note 2,

Third Plate, Second Side

1 Kannavāḍa-Gaṁgavāḍa-Baḷiyavāḍa-Rerṇādāḷa-

2 Siyaḷāṟa-sāmi Sarbaṟasar-koṭōr Śiṁtarge Āṟuṁ-

3 bāḷigeyoḍam [|*]

TRANSLATION

First Inscription

Success ! Hail !

(Verse 1) (*There was*) the illustrious king **Mānāṅka,** of whose policy on the earth the states of **Vidarbha** and **Aśmaka** were afraid and who was the ruler of **Kuntala.**

(Verse 2) Though he is (*now*) in another world, he shines by his virtues which (*still*) abide here (*viz*) among his subjects by (*his*) peaceful nature, among good people by (*his*) modesty, among enemies by (*his*) valour, among princes by (*his*) political wisdom and everywhere by (*his*) liberality.

(Verse 3) His son (*was*) **Dēvarāja,** who, like the lord of gods, made his dependents matchless in prosperity, secure and happy.

(Verse 4) His stainless merits were rendered resplendent by other (*things*)—his valour which was free from trickery (*shone*) by (*his*) humility, his unbounded charity to suppliants (*was made known*) (*by the panegyrics of*) learned men, (*and his*) truthfulness, which was free from guile, was (*made manifest*) by (*his*) deeds.

(Verse 5) His son also, though young, has excelled kings of yore by his stainless virtues. He, the king, is, they say, known by the name of **Avidhēya,** because he is not submissive to his enemies, (*namely*) the six (*passions*).

(Verse 6) Even the benedictions and other (*approbations*), befitting his merits, offered by suppliants to that donor, who makes gifts as soon as they are asked for, distress him.

(Verse 7) The suppliant, though his expectations have been fulfilled by him, [continues to wait upon him with the desire] to serve him as it pleases him, the donor, and not to get (*more gifts*) from him.

(Verse 8) By him [This gift has been made] to the best of the Brāhmaṇas. who is proficient in the six Vedāngas and (*their*) meaning and who is learned in philosophy.

(Line 13) "Be it known (*to all*) that (*the village*) **Pāṇḍaraṅgapallī** together with the hamlets of **Kāmyaka** and **Jāula** (*situated*) on the bank of the (*river*) Anēvatī to the east of the Kollagiri (*hill*), has been donated (*by Us*) with (*the pouring out of*) water, on the **full-moon day of Kārttika** for the increase of the religious merit and fame of Our mother and father and of Ourself to the Brāhmaṇa Śambhu of the Bhārgava *gōtra* and three *pravaras*, who is of the Chhandōga (i.e. the Sāmavēda), is proficient in the four Vēdas and is conversant with three thousand *vidyās*, who leads the life of an ascetic and who hails from **Paviddhaka** for the performance of Vaiśvadēva, Agnihōtra and other (*rites*).

(Line 19) We issue the (*following*) order to the kings and Bhōgikas, whether of our family or others—"Be it known to you that knowing that a gift of land is superior to all (*other*) gifts, none should destroy (*this gift*).

(Line 21) And it has been said by the revered Manu—(*Here follow two benedictory and imprecatory verses*).

(Line 24) Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas, also has said — (*Here follow two benedictory and imprecatory verses*).

(Line 28) And this (*charter*) has been written by Dēvadatta, with the consent of the King, in the **fifteenth regnal year, on the fifth** (*tithi*) **of the dark fortnight of Kārttika,** in the (*cyclic year*) **Bhādrapada.** The year 10 (*and*) 5, (*the month*) Kārttika, the dark (*fortnight*) (*and the tithi*) 5.

Second Inscription

Sarbarasa, the lord of (the villages) **Kannavāḍa, Gaṅgavāḍa Baḷiyavāḍa, Rernāḍāḷa** (and) **Siyaḷāṟa,** gave **Śintargē** together with **Ārumbāḷigē.**[1]

[1] Krishna interpereted this inscription as meaning that the grant was made by Sarbarasa and that the plates were prepared by Sēmbāja of Śintargē.

No. 4—INSCRIBED CLAY SEAL FROM RAKTAMRITTIKA

(*1 Plate*)

D. C. SIRCAR, CALCUTTA

(*Received on 15.10.1962*)

The great Buddhist monastery of **Raktamṛittikā** flourished by the side of the capital city of the **Karṇasuvarṇa** (Chinese *Kie-lo-na-su-fa-la-na*) kingdom in Eastern India when the celebrated Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsang visited the place in the fourth decade of the seventh century A. D.[1] According to the pilgrim, king Śaśāṅka of Karṇasuvarṇa killed Rājyavardhana, elder brother and predecessor of king Harshvardhana of Kanauj, and was a powerful enemy of Harsha and of Buddhism.[2] The king who killed Rājyavardhana (i.e. Śaśāṅka of Karṇasuvarṇa) is, however, called 'the lord Gauḍa' in Bāṇa's *Harshacharita*.[3] It is clear therefore that the Chinese pilgrim calls the Gauḍa country ' the country or kingdom of Karṇasuvarṇa ' after the name of its capital city. It was this city of Karṇasuvarṇa whence king Jayanāga, probably a predecessor of Śaśāṅka, issued his Bappaghōshavāṭa grant,[4] and Harsha's ally, king Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa (c. 600-50 A. D.), issued his Nidhanpur plates[5] apparently after a successful invasion led by the two friends against the Gauḍa kingdom.

The emergence of Karṇasuvarṇa as an important city of Eastern India appears to have synchronised with the rise of the Gauḍas as an independent people after the decline of the Imperial Guptas in the sixth century A. D. The Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien who visited India about the beginning of the fifth century, travelled from Pāṭaliputra, the capital of Magadha, following the course of the Ganges towards the east to Champā (capital of Aṅga) on the southern bank of the river at the distance of 18 *yōjanas*; and thence, proceeding easterly about 50 *yōjanas*, he reached Tāmralipti.[6] He does not speak of any important city with well-known Buddhist establishments

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[1] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, p. 191 ; cf. Beal, *The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang*, pp. 131-32, and *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Calcutta reprint, Vol. IV, p. 408. Hiuen-tsang's description of the country runs as follows : "This was about 4450 *li* in circuit and its capital was about 20 *li* in circuit. The country was well inhabited and the people were very rich. The land was low and moist, farming operations were regular, flowers and fruits were abundant ; the climate was temperate, and the people were of good character and were patrons of learning. There were more than ten Buddhist monasteries, and about 2000 Brethren who were all adherents of the Sammatīya School. There were fifty Dēva temples and the followers of the various religions were very numerous. There were also three Buddhist monasteries in which, in accordance with the teaching of Dēvadatta, milk products were not taken as food." About the foundation of the Raktamṛittikā monastery, Hiuen-tsang says, "It had been erected by a king of the country, before the country was converted to Buddhism, to honour a Buddhist Śramaṇa from South India, who had defeated in public discussion a boasting disputant of another system also from South India. This bullying braggart had come to the city and strutted about with his stomach protected by copper sheathing to prevent him from bursting with excessive learning, and bearing on his head a light to enlighten the ignorant and stupid. He prevailed until the king urged the stranger Śramaṇa to meet him in discussion, the king promising to found a Buddhist monastery if the Śramaṇa were victorious."

[2] Watters, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 343 ; Beal, *Buddhist Records*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 236.

[3] Parab's ed., p. 187, etc.

[4] Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 63 ; Bhandarkar's List, No. 1729.

[5] Bhattacharya, *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, pp. 1 ff.

[6] *Foe Koue Ki*, Chapter XXXVII. According to Cunningham, about 6 *li* were equal to one mile while 40 *li* were equal to one *yōjana* (*Ancient Geography of India*, ed. Sastri, p. 657).

on his way from Champā to Tāmralipti, though he seems to have passed along the lower course of the Ganges on which Karṇasuvarṇa was situated. On the other hand, two centuries later, Hiuen-tsang says that, besides the great Buddhist monastery, there were, at Karṇasuvarṇa, several Stūpas built by Aśōka at spots where the Buddha had preached and also a shrine where the Four Past Buddhas had sat and walked for exercise,[1] although the existence of the city of Karṇasuvarṇa in the ages of the Buddha and Aśoka is doubtful.[2] If Karṇasuvarṇa rose to prominence as the capital of the Gauḍa people on the decline of the Imperial Guptas in the sixth century A. D., kings Dharmāditya, Gōpachandra and Samāchāradēva, whose known records are not stated to have been issued from Karṇasuvarṇa, as well as Jayanāga, whose charter was issued from that city, may have been Gauḍa rulers besides the well-known Śaśāṅka.[3] The evidence of the Tippera plate of Lōkanātha and the Kailan plate of Śrīdhāraṇarāta would suggest that the Tippera region acknowledged the suzerainty of the Gauḍa king about the third quarter of the seventh century before the expansion of Khaḍga power in the said area about the close of that century.[4] According to the evidence of Vākpatirāja's *Gaüḍavaha*, the Gauḍas had been in occupation of Magadha before king Yaśōvarman (c. 728-53 A. D.) of Kanauj defeated and killed the Gauḍa king of Magadha.[5] This presupposes the extirpation of 'the Later Guptas' of Magadha by the Gauḍas about the first quarter of the eighth century A. D. ; but Magadha had passed through several hands during the period between the sixth and the eighth century. The Deo Baranark inscription points to the hold of the Maukhari kings Śarvavarman and Avantivarman, over the Shahabad District of Bihar about the close of the sixth century.[6] The area was, however, under the rule of Śaśāṅka when he was a *Mahāsāmanta*, apparently under the contemporary Gauḍa king, about the beginning of the seventh century.[7] Soon Magadha was occupied by Harshavardhana who obviously installed ' the Later Guptas' there.[8] With the death of Harsha in 647 A. D., ' the Later Guptas ' began to rule independently. They were ousted by the Gauḍas about the first quarter of the eighth century ; but the latter lost Magadha to Yaśōvarman in the second quarter of that century.

The name of the great Buddhist monastery adjacent to Karṇasuvarṇa, the capital of Gauḍa, is given in Hiuen-tsang's *Life* as Ki-to-mo-chi and in his *Records* as Lo-to-wei-chi. The name is explained as ' red-mud ' and Julien restored the original as *Raktaviṭi*, though *viṭi* in the sense of 'mud' is not found in Sanskrit.[9] According to Watters, the correct reading of the Chinese form of the name is Lo-to-mo-chi, explained by him as 'Raktāmṛita, in Pali Raktamattikā, which means Red clay '. But the Sanskrit form of Pali *Rattamattikā* is not *Raktāmṛita* but *Raktamṛittikā*.[10] And it is now generally agreed that the same locality is mentioned as Raktamṛittikā in an inscription[11] of about the sixth century A. D. found in the Wellesley Province of the Malay Peninsula. It is mentioned therein as the home of a Buddhist *Mahānāvika* (captain of a ship) named Buddhagupta.

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1 Watters, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 191.

2 Cf. *Journ. As. Soc.*, Letters, Vol. XVIII, 1952, p. 174.

3 Cf. Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1722-25 ; above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 155 ff.

4 See *IHQ*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 221 ff.

5 Cf. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, pp. 197-98.

6 Bhandarkar's List, No. 1554. Note also that Sūryavarman, son of Maukhari Īśānavarman, is described as a scion of the Varman dynasty of Magadha (ibid., No. 1654).

7 Cf. ibid. No. 1741.

8 Above, Vol. XXX, p. 276, note 5.

9 I am sorry that I could not trace any such word in the Sanskrit lexicons.

10 There are some palpable errors of this kind in Watters's excellent work apparently because it was printed after the learned author's death without careful revision.

11 *Select Inscriptions*, p. 465.

There is some confusion in the accounts of Hiuen-tsang's travels in Eastern India. According to the *Life*, the pilgrim went from Puṇḍravardhana (Mahāsthān in the Bogra District, East Pakistan) about 900 *li* to the south-east to Karṇasuvarṇa, thence to the south-east to Samataṭa near the great sea (in the Tipperah-Noakhali region of East Pakistan) and thence about 900 *li* to the west to Tāmralipti (Tamluk area of the Midnapur District of West Bengal) on a bay of the sea; but, according to the *Records*, he went from Puṇḍravardhana about 900 *li* to the east to Kāmarūpa (Gauhati region of Assam), thence 1200 or 1300 *li* to the south to Samataṭa, thence over 900 *li* to the west to Tāmralipti and thence over 700 *li* to the north-west to Karṇasuvarṇa. It is difficult to say which of the two accounts is correct though some scholars regard the *Life* as more authentic on this point, while others suppose that Karṇasuvarṇa lay 700 *li* to the north-east of Tāmralipti and not to its north-west.[1]

There is also a controversy among scholars as regards the location of the city of Karṇasuvarṇa. Cunningham, who calls it Kiraṇasuvarṇa, was inclined to locate the kingdom in the Barābhūm-Singhbhūm region on the Suvarṇarēkhā and to identify it with Barā Bāzār, the chief town of Barābhūm in the Singhbhum District.[2] According to Fergusson, the kingdom comprised the Birbhum and Murshidabad Districts and parts of Burdwan, Jessore and Nadia.[3] Waddel identified the city with Kāñchannagar (which he imagined to be really *Kānsōnnagar*) near Burdwan.[4] Beglar located the city at Sufaran in Chota Nagpur,[5] while Fleet is supposed to have proposed its identification with Rohtasgadh in the Shahabad District, Bihar, where a rock-cut seal-matrix of Śaśāṅka of Karṇasuvarṇa was discovered.[6] Layard locates the great monastery in the suburbs of Karṇasuvarṇa at Rāṅgāmāṭi (Bengali for Sanskrit *Raktamṛittikā*), formerly called Kānsōṇāpurī lying on the right bank of the Bhāgīrathī, about 1½ miles from the Chirati railway station, 6 miles to the south-west of Berhampur and 12 miles to the south of Murshidabad in the Murshidabad District of West Bengal.[7] The earth of Rāṅgāmāṭi is red, and this is explained by a tradition according to which Rāvaṇa's brother Vibhīshaṇa, being invited to a feast by a poor Brāhmaṇa at Rāṅgāmāṭi, rained down gold on the ground as a token of gratitude.[8] The tradition has been supposed to indicate, in a figurative way, how the ancient people o Gauḍa made immense profit from their maritime trade.[9] M. Chakravarti, however, did not regard the location of Karṇasuvarṇa at Rāṅgāmāṭi as certain and suggested that the city may be identical with Gaur (Gauḍa or Lakshmaṇāvatī) in the Malda District of West Bengal.[10]

Among all the theories regarding the location of the city of Karṇasuvarṇa and the Buddhist monastery of Raktamṛittikā, Layard's view suggesting their location about modern Rāṅgāmāṭi, anciently called Kānsōṇāpurī or Kānsōṇāgaḍh, in the Murshidabad District, appears to be more convincing since Sanskrit *Raktamṛittikā* and Bengali *Rāṅgāmāṭi* are the same word meaning 'red clay' which is given as the meaning of the Chinese form of the said name, while Kānsōṇā, another name of the area which was almost obsolete when Layard wrote more than a century ago, is also the Bengali modification of Sanskrit *Karṇasuvarṇa*, literally 'the gold [ornament] of the ear'.

[1] Cf. Watters, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 191-92.

[2] *Ancient Geography of India*, ed. Sastri, p. 578.

[3] Cf. Watters, op. cit., p. 193.

[4] *Discovery of the Exact Site of Asoka's Classic Capital of Pataliputra*, p. 27.

[5] Cunningham, *A.S.Rep.*, Vol. VIII, p. 191.

[6] See Sastri's note in Cunningham's *Anc. Geog. Ind.*, p. 733; but Fleet does not say so in *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 283-84.

[7] *JASB*, Vol. XXII, 1853, p. 281. The indentification is wrongly attributed to Beveridge (*JASB*, 1893, pp. 315-28) in the *Hist. Beng.*, Vol. I, ed. Majumdar, p. 60, note 1.

[8] See J. Long in *Calcutta Review*, Vol. VI; Dey, *Geog. Dict.*, p. 94.

[9] Cf. Dey, loc. cit.

[10] *JASB*, N.S., Vol. IV, 1908, pp. 280-81.

But besides these, there was no other evidence in support of the identification. Although, therefore, recent writers have generally shown an inclination to prefer this identification, they are still waiting for proof in its support. This attitude is noticed in R. C. Majumdar's statement, " His (*i.e.* Śaśāṅka's) capital city, Karṇasuvarṇa, cannot be identified with absolute certainty ; but it is most probably represented to-day by the ruins at Rāṅgāmāṭi..................."[1] This cautious approach to the problem is partially due to the fact that excavations conducted at the place about 33 years ago failed to unearth any evidence in support of the identification.

The **Rāṅgāmāṭi** area has a few tanks and several mounds of brick and clay, e.g., Ṭhākurbāḍī-ḍāṅgā, Rājbāḍī-ḍāṅgā, Sannyāsī-ḍāṅgā, Rākshasī-ḍāṅgā, etc. In the cold season of 1928-29, trial excavations were carried at Rākshasī-ḍāṅgā by the Archaeological Survey of the Government of India under the leadership of K. N. Dikshit in order to see whether archaeological evidence would be available to substantiate the location of Karṇasuvarṇa and Raktamṛittikā in the area in question. The failure of the attempt is indicated in the following sentence of the report on the excavations : "The trial excavations conducted late in the season at the Devil's Mound brought to light the remains of structures of at least three periods, the lowest of which appears to be a Buddhist establishment of the 6th to 7th century A. D. ; but no definite confirmation is available about its identity with the Karṇasuvarṇavihāra (sic)."[2] The evidence that eluded the archaeologist's spade in 1928-29 has now fortunately been unearthed by another group of archaeologists after the long period of 33 years.

About the middle of 1962, trial excavations were conducted at the **Rājbāḍī-ḍāṅgā,** referred to above, by the Department of Archaeology, Calcutta University, under the leadership of S. R. Das, Reader in Archaeology. The result was the **discovery of the ruins of a monastic establishment** and, among other objects, **a large number of clay seals** which I was requested to examine. Among these seals, there are some bearing the Buddhist formula *Yē dhammā hētuppabhavā* etc., in characters assignable on palaeographical grounds to **dates ranging between the sixth and the eighth century A. D.** They no doubt point to the existence of a Buddhist monastery in the area, probably the one, the ruins of which have been recently unearthed at the site. But one of these seals is of considerable importance as it helps us **in locating the Raktamṛittikā monastery on the Rājbāḍī-ḍāṅgā or its neighbourhood.**

This **clay seal,** the preservation of which is unsatisfactory, has the representation of the *Dharmachakra* in the upper part of the surface, which is flanked by a deer on either side, and closely resembles the *Dharmachakra-mudrā* attached to the copper-plate grants of the Buddhist kings of Eastern India, such as the Pālas and Chandras. Below the said emblem, there is a legend in two lines, which is written in characters of the seventh or eighth century A. D. and reads as follows :

1 Śrī-**Rakta[m]ṛittikā**-ma(mā)hāvaihā-

2 rik-ārya-bhikshu-[saṅgha]s[y]a [||*]

"[*This is the seal*] of the community of the noble monks of the Great Monastery at the illustrious **Raktamṛittikā.**"

The Department of Archaeology, Calcutta University, proposes to continue the excavations in the Rāṅgāmāṭi area for some years to come. They are likely to lead to the discovery of further evidence in support of the location of the city of Karṇasuvarṇa and the monastery of Raktamṛittikā in the locality in question.

[1] *The Classical Age*, p. 78. Majumdar refers to *JASB*, Vol. LXIII, 1894, Part i, p. 172.

[2] *An. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1928-29, p. 99.

INSCRIBED CLAY SEAL FROM RAKTAMRITTIKA

2 2

(from Photograph)

By courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, Calcutta University.

No. 5—RENTALA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF SIRI-CHANTAMULA I, YEAR 5

(*1 Plate*)

S. Sankaranarayanan, Ootacamund

(*Received on 11.12.1963*)

The subjoined inscription,[1] edited with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, was discovered in 1936 at **Reṇṭāla,** a village in Palnad Taluk, Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh. It is engraved on a sculptured white marble stone pillar set up on the southern mound of the hillock, locally known as *Stambhālabōḍu* in the village. I visited the hillock in January 1964. The pillar under question measures about 2·65 m in height and about 25 cm × 25 cm at the bottom. An examination of the site gives an idea that the original structure to which the pillar belonged might have been a *maṇḍapa,* circular in shape and having twelve pillars—four pillars set up in the middle, two on either side of an entrance measuring about 90 cm and eight pillars at the end set up in such a way as to form a circle. The inscribed pillar under study appears to be one of the two pillars on the left side of the entrance. Unfortunately the whole structure is completely broken to pieces and lost excepting our solitary pillar. The heights of other broken eleven pillars vary from 10 cm to about 30 cm. The epigraph occupies an area of 75 cm × 24 cm and contains 15 lines. The proper right side of the lower part of the record viz. lines 11-15, is broken away and the number of letters thus lost in each line varies from one (line 11) to four (line 14). The preservation of the record, even in the extant portion, is not quite satisfactory. However, in spite of the fragmentary nature, the purport of the epigraph is far from doubt.

The **characters** of the record resemble those of the other inscriptions found at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa[2] and Jaggayyapeṭa[3] belonging to the Ikshvāku rulers Vīrapurushadatta and Ehuvula-Chantamula and assigned to the middle and the second half of the third century A.D.[4] However, the following peculiarities of our record are noteworthy. Unlike in the above mentioned inscriptions, the middle stroke of the letter *k* and the bottom line of *n* in the inscription under study are straight. Similarly, the bottom line of *ṇ* is also straight though its right end slightly curves downwards. These features suggest a slightly earlier date for our record. The **language** of the inscription is Prakrit.

The epigraph refers itself to the reign of the **Ikshvāku king** *rājan* **Vaseṭhiputa-Siri-Chantamula** and is **dated the first day of the first fortnight of the rainy season in** the victorious (*vijaya*)[5] **fifth regnal year**[6] of the king. The fact that he is referred to simply

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[1] *A.R. Ep.*, 1936-37, No. 349.

[2] Above, Vol. XX, pp. 1 ff. and Plates ; Vol. XXI, pp. 61 ff. and Plates ; Vol. XXXV, pp. 1 ff. and Plates.

[3] *Arch. Surv. South India*, Vol. I, pp. 107 ff. and Plates LXII-LXIII. The macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in this article.

[4] D. C. Sircar, *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 1.

[5] The description of the regnal year as *vijaya-saṁvachchhara* (Sanskrit *vijaya-saṁvatsara*) is rather unusual in the inscriptions of the Ikshvākus. The expression *saṁvachharaṁ vijayaṁ* is found in one of the inscriptions of Vīrapurushadatta as well as in a record of Ehuvula-Chantamula (above, Vol. XXXV, pp. 1 ff) where the word *vijaya* has been taken to be the name of the first (northern cycle) or the 27th (southern cycle) year of the Jupiter's cycle.

[6] The date has not been correctly read in *A.R. Ep.*, 1936-37, No. 349.

as siri-Chaṁtamula and not as siri-Ehuvula-Chaṁtamula, shows that he should be identified with Chantamula I[1] who was the father of Vīrapurushadatta and grandfather of Ehuvula-Chantamula II. The last named ruler is always referred to in his inscriptions as siri-Ehuvula-Chantamula.[2]

The record commences with the auspicious word *Sidham* followed by an adoration to the Bhagavat.[3] As the record is Buddhist in character, we have to take this Bhagavat to be the Buddha himself. This is followed, in lines 2-4, by the mention of the ruling king and the date of the record referred to above. The following sentence in lines 4-15 states that the stone pillar (*āyaka - skambha*),[4] evidently the one on which the inscription is engraved, was caused to be made by a merchant (*vaṇijaka*) in the *maṇḍapa* of the Buddha-saṅgha. The name of the merchant appears to be Chuṭidhāra-siri (Sanskrit, Chūḍādhāraśrī). He is described as **Gaṁjikuṭa,** the son of a merchant whose name seems to read as Saṁghila, a resident of the town and his wife Haṁghā (Sanskrit, Saṁghā).[5] It is stated that the gift was made for his own longevity and for his continued victory and that in this pious act he was associated with his wife, daughter, a group of his daughters-in-law, his friends and grandsons and with four or five others who were probably related to him in one way or the other. The *maṇḍapa* in which the pillar was set up is said to belong to **Upendragiri-varddhamāna** situated in a *vihāra-maṇḍala.* Unfortunately, the name of the *vihāra* is lost, while the name of the village which is also partly lost appears to read Tuvara. The word *varddhamāna* occurs elsewhere also and appears to be a technical term meaning a type of building.[6] So the compound word Upendragiri-varddhamāna in the present record means a *varddhamāna* built by a person called Upendragiri.[7]

The inscription under study is **important** in more than one respect. It is the **only known record of the time of the Ikshvāku king Siri-Chantamula I** discovered so far, though he is known from the inscriptions of his successors.[8] While Chantamula I is often credited with the performance of *Agnihotra*, *Agnishṭoma*, *Vājapeya* and *Aśvamedha* and with other pious deeds like *sahasrahala* in the records of Vīrapurushadatta and Ehuvula-Chantamula II, the present record does not refer to such acts. This silence may perhaps be due to the fact that Chantamula I had

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[1] Cf. ibid., where the king has been identified with Ehuvula-Chantamula. However, Shri H. Sarkar, in a communication sent to the Government Epigraphist for India, suggested that the king mentioned in this record might be Chantamula I. Cf. also *A. R. Ep.*, 1943-44 and 1944-45, No. E 43.

[2] See above, Vol. XX, p. 24, pillar inscription *H*, etc.

[3] On the other side of the pillar the words *namo Bhagavato Budhasa sagasa* are engraved in slightly later characters.

[4] The term *āyaka-khaṁbha* (or *ayaka°*) occurs in all the three Jaggayyapeṭa pillar inscriptions (*Arch. Surv. South. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 110, Nos. 1-3) and it has been suggested that the expression denotes 'gate-pillar' as the word *āyaka* may mean 'entrance' (Ibid., p. 111, f.n.1).

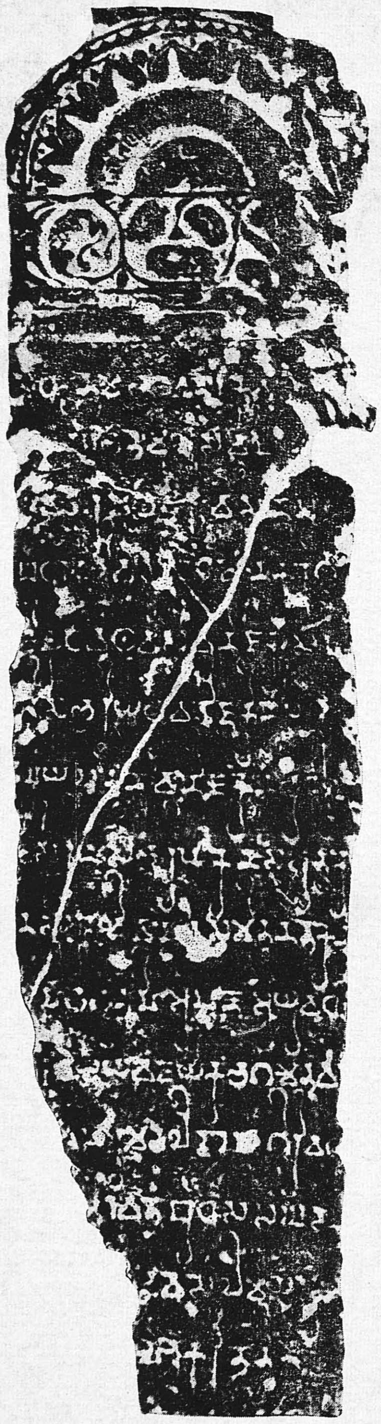
[5] The Uppuguṇḍūr (near Chinna-Gañjam) inscription of Vīrapurisadata describes the donor Saṁghila as the grandson of another Saṁghila of Dhaṁñakaṭa (above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 191). It also mentions the donor's female relative Saṁghanikā.

[6] See P.K. Acharya, *A Dictionary of Hindu Architecture* s.v. The word *vaḍhamāna* also occurs in the compound *Seṭhivaravadhamāna* (Sanskrit *Śreshṭhivara-varddhamāna*), *Mahārāja-vaḍhamāna* (Sanskrit *Mahārāja-varddhamāna*) in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions (above, Vol. XXXV, pp. 9 and 19) and also in the compound *Ukhasiri-vaḍhamāna* (Sanskrit *Rikshaśrī-varddhamāna*) in the Ghaṇṭasāla inscriptions (ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 3). It is not unlikely that these expressions also denote *varddhamāna* type of buildings built by the respective persons. (Cf. ibid., Vol. XXXV, p. 8, f.n. 1; p. 19; also see ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 2).

[7] Here the context as well as the parallel expessions like *Seṭhivara-vaḍhamāna* in other inscriptions referred to above, preclude the possibility of taking the word *Upendragiri* as a name of a hill. Personal names ending in *giri* like Dhamagiri (Sanskrit, Dharmagiri), Dhanagiri, Mahāgiri, Mūlagiri, Nandagiri, Sihagiri (Sanskrit Siṁhagiri), Yasogiri (Sanskrit Yaśogiri), etc. are met with in the early inscriptions. (Cf. Lüders' *A List of Brāhmī Incriptions,* Nos. 209, 217, 290, 315, 335 456, 601, 898, 1093, etc.).

[8] Above, Vol. XX, p. 1 ff., Vol. XXXV, pp. 6-7 and 9.

RENTALA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF SIRI-CHANTAMULA I, YEAR 5



Scale : One-fifth

not performed such deeds before the date of the record under study. If the performance of *Aśvamedha*, etc. by Chantamula I is proof of his success against his Śātavāhana overlords,[1] then it is not unlikely that he could not completely throw off the Śātavāhana yoke till his fifth regnal year although he was a powerful feudatory and mentioned his own regnal years. The simple title *rājan* assumed by Chaṁtamula I in the present record may also indicate his feudatory position on the date of the record. For, in all the records of his successors he is always endowed with the title *mahārāja* denoting his sovereign status which he must have attained later. However, one cannot be quite sure on this point, as there are records of Vīrapurushadatta of which some refer to him simply as *rājan*, while others bearing the same date endow him with the title *mahārāja*.[2]

The Buddhistic nature of our record indicates that during the reign of Chaṁtamula I, Buddhism received royal patronage though the king himself was a staunch follower of the Brāhminic religion and performed the Vedic sacrifices.[3] In this respect, he appears to have followed the example of the later Śātavāhana rulers who, though Brahminical in faith, favoured Buddhism.

Of the two geographical names occurring in this record, the village **Tuvara** where the Upendragiri-vardhamāna was situated may be identified with modern Reṇṭāla, the findspot of the inscription. **Gaṁjikuṭa,** the home town of the donor's father, may be indentified with either Chinna-Gañjam or Padda-Gañjam in Bapatla Taluk, Guntur District.

TEXT[4]

1 Sidha[m][5] |[6] Namo Bhagavato [1*] Raṁño Vase.

2 ....[7] **siri-Chaṁtamulasa vijaya-**

3 **[saṁ]vachhara[ṁ] pachama[ṁ] 5 vās[ā]ṇa[ṁ] pakha[ṁ]**

4 **padhamaṁ 1 divasa[ṁ] padhamaṁ [1]** |[6] nakare **Ga[ṁ]-**

5 **jikuṭe** vathavasa vaṇijaka[sa*] Saṁghi-

6 [la]sa bhariya[ya*] cha vaṇijakiṇiya Haṁ-

7 ghaya putana[8] vaṇijakena Chuṭi[dhā]-

8 [ra][9]sirīṇa[10] sa-bhariyakeṇa sa-dhutuke-

9 na sa-[suṁ][11]ha-vī(ni)vahena sa-mita-natuke[na]

10 [sa]-pacha-chatuṁhi apaṇo āyu-vadha-

11 .[12] [kaṁ] v[i]jaya-vejayikaṁ cha game **Tuva[re]**[13]

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1 D. C. Sircar, op. cit., p. 18.
2 See e.g., above, Vol. XX, p. 19, C. 2, p. 20, C. 4.
3 Cf. D. C. Sircar, op. cit., p. 38.
4 From the impressions.
5 The final *m* is written slightly below the line.
6 This punctuation mark is indicated by a small horizotal stroke.
7 The damaged letters are obviously *ṭhiputasa*.
8 Read *putena*.
9 In the original pillar very faint mark of *ra* appears before *si*.
10 Read *siriṇā*.
11 This letter, originally written as *ā*, is corrected into *su*.
12 The lost letter may be restored as *ni*.
13 Indistinct trace of this letter may be found in the impression.

12 .....[1] v[i]h[ā]ra-ma[ṁ]ḍale **Upedagiri-vadha-**

13 ....[2] gavato Budhasa saṁghasa

14 ....[3] ḍave selāmay[o] āya-

15 .[4] khabho karito ti |

TEXT IN SANSKRIT

1 Siddham | Namo Bhagavate | Rājño Vāsishṭhī-

2 putrasya śrī-Śāntamūlasya vijaya-

3 saṁvatsare pañchame 5 Varshāṇāṁ pakshe

4 prathame 1 divase prathame 1 | nagare Gañji-

5 kūṭe vāstavyasya vaṇijakasya Saṁghi-

6 lasya bhāryāyāś=cha vaṇijakānyāḥ Saṁ-

7 ghāyāḥ putreṇa vaṇijakena Chūḍādhā-

8 raśriyā sa-bhāryeṇa sa-duhitṛike-

9 na sa-snushā-nivahena sa-mitra-naptṛikena

10 saha pañcha-chaturbhiḥ ātmanaḥ āyur-vardha-

11 nikaḥ vijaya-vaijayikaḥ[5] cha grāme Tuvare

12 ...... vihāra-maṇḍale Upendragiri-varddha-

13 māne bhagavato Buddhasya saṅghasya

14 ...... maṇḍape śailamayaḥ āya-

15 ka-skaṁbhaḥ kāritaḥ iti [||]*

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[1] Two letters seem to have been lost here which apparently contained the name of the *vihāra.*

[2] The three letters which are lost here are obviously *māne Bha.*

[3] Of the four letters which are broken away and lost, the last one may be restored as *ma.*

[4] The broken portion of the pillar here must have been big enough to accommodate five letters. But as the usual expression is *āyaka-khabha* or °*skaṁbha*, only one letter viz. *ka* appears to have been lost. Thus the last line *ka-khabho*, etc. appears to have been engraved in the middle. Cf. above, Vol. XX, Plate facing p. 18, *B. 4*, line 7 and Plate facing p. 19, *C. 2*, line 12.

[5] Better *vaijaya-vijayikaḥ*.

No. 6—HONAVAR PLATES OF KAIKEYA CHITRASENA, YEAR 1

(*1 Plate*)

M. K. Dhavalikar, New Delhi and M. S. Nagaraja Rao, Dharwar

(*Received on 9. 3. 1964*)

The subjoined copper plate inscription[1] is reported to have been found about fifty years back at **Honāvar,** North Kanara District, Mysore State and was lying in the family of Shri Nadakarni who is now a resident of Bijapur. We secured the plates for our study through our friend Shri M.V. Tembye who was stationed at Bijapur as Custodian in the Archaeological Survey of India. We are grateful to both of them for placing these plates at our disposal for study and publication.[2]

This is a **set** of **three copper plates,** each measuring about 15 cm×4·6 cm, strung together by means of a circular copper ring, 5·6 cm in diameter, the ends of which are soldered under a seal, oval in shape, measuring 4 cm at its extended base and 2·6 cm on the rim of its scooped out surface, on which there is a figure of a lion with gaping mouth and with its right leg and tail raised. The whole set weighs 390 g. The first and the third plates are engraved on the inner side only while the second plate bears writing on both the sides. There are altogether thirteen lines of which the first three sides contain three lines each while there are four lines on the fourth side.

The **characters** of the record belong to the box headed variety of the Southern alphabets which may be roughly assigned to the 5th-6th century A. D. and which are usually found in the records of the Kadamba kings Mṛigēśavarman[3] and Ravivarman.[4] As regards **orthography,** the consonant following *r* is always doubled according to rules of grammar. *Upadhmānīya* is used in line 4. Final *m* is correctly used at the end of a *pāda* in a verse. The **language** is Sanskrit and the record is written in prose and verse.

The charter is issued from **Ambudvīpa** and is dated **śu. 15 of the month Āśvayuja in the first year** of the **Kaikēya king Chitrasēna-Kella,** also called **Chitrasēna-Mahākella,** who issued the grant. It begins with a *siddham* symbol followed by a verse in praise of the Buddha, the son of Śuddhōdana. The next verse introduces the chief Chitrasēna-Kella of the Kaikēya family who is described as a supporter of the scholars and as a ruler interested in the welfare of his subjects. This is followed by the grant portion in prose (lines 4-9) which states that, when one **Ravi-mahārāja** was ruling the kingdom, Chitrasēna-Mahākella granted the garden called Sahārāma and the field Kaṇasā-pukkōli[5] both situated in the village Nāpitapallī to the *Ārya-saṅgha* (i.e. Buddhist *saṅgha*), on the date mentioned above. This is followed by two imprecatory verses. The record ends with a prose passage informing that the record was written by one Jina[na*]ndi-sēnāpati, the son of Siṁha-sēnāpati.

The charter is **important** in that it brings to light a hitherto unknown ruler named Chitrasēna of the Kaikēya family. Several branches of the Kaikēyas were settled in different parts of South India[6] as revealed by some epigraphs, like those from Aṇaji[7] and Nandipalli.[8] As the present

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1 It is the same as No. A 10 of *A. R. Ep.* for 1963-64.

2 [The article has been re-written—Ed.]

3 Above, Vol. XXXV, plate between pp. 152-53. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, plate facing pp. 36-37.

4 Ibid., Vol. VI, plate between pp. 26-27.

5 This expression probably denotes some variety of land. See above, Vol. XXXV, p. 152.

6 For an elaborate treatment of the subject, see Dr. D. C. Sircar's article on '*Southern Kaikayas*' in *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. IV, pp. 516 ff. See also, above Vol. XXXI, p. 235.

7 *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, p. 162.

8 Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 174.

charter does not give the genealogy of Chitrasēna, it is difficult to say whether he belonged to any of the known branches or to a new one. His title *Kella* and *Mahākella* are interesting. We know of one Ēla-Kella of the Kaikēya family from the Kāpōli plates of Bhōja Aśaṅkitavarman.[1] The feudatory status of Chitrasēna is indicated by the reference to Ravimahārāja as the ruler of the kingdom.[2] This overlord was probably identical with the Kadamba king Ravivarman who is mentioned as Ravimahārāja in the Durmaya plates,[3] and to whose period our record also may be assigned, as already pointed out on the grounds of palaeography.

Of the places mentioned in the grant, **Ambudvīpa** may be identified with modern Anjidiv Island which is only five miles off the coast from Karwar. The village **Nāpitapallī** is difficult to identify.

TEXT[4]

[Metre : verses 1-5, *Anushṭubh*]

First Plate

1 Siddham[5] [|*] Jayaty=amita-guṇabhṛid=Buddhas=sat[t*]va samāśrayaḥ [|*] Śuddhōdana-
2 kul-ōdbhūtaḥ padma-patra-nibh-ēkshaṇaḥ [||1*] **Kaikēyakula**-saṁ-
3 bhūtas=tadvad=budha-jan-ālayaḥ [|*] jayatāt=suchiraṁ **Kella-**

Second Plate, First Side

4 **ś=Chitrasēnaḥ**=prajāhitaḥ || [2*] **Vijay-Ām[b]udvīpē** parama-
5 guṇa-gaṇ-ālaṁkṛita-kalya-dēhaḥ **śrī-Chitrasēna-ma-**
6 **hā-Kellaḥ śrī-Ravimahārājē** rājyam=praśāsati ātmanaḥ

Second Plate, Second Side

7 pravarddhamāna-saṁvatsarē **prathamē Āśvayuja-pau-**
8 **rṇṇamāsyām** ||[6] **Nāpitapalyā(llyāṁ)** Sahārāmaṁ Kaṇasā-pu-
9 kkōliñ=cha vidhivad=Āryyasaṁghāya pradattavān [|*]

Third Plate

10 Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhū-
11 miḥ[7] tasya tasya tadā phalam || [4*] Sva-dattāṁ=para-dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasundharām [|]
12 shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrāṇi narakē pachyatē tu saḥ [||5*] Siṁha-
13 sēna(nā)pati-sūnunā Jina[na*] ndi-sēnāpatinā likhitam=iti ||[8]

[1] Ibid., Vol. XXXI, pp. 235-36. [A certain Ara-Kella and one Sēvya-Gella are mentioned as the local chieftains in the epigraphs of the 9th and 12th century respectively from the adjoining district of South Kanara; cf. above, Vol. IX, p. 23; *SII*, Vol. VII, No. 258—Ed.]

[2] [The fact that the charter is dated not in the regnal year of the overlord but in that of the chieftain indicates the semi-independent status of the chief.—Ed.]

[3] *Arch. Sur. of Mys., An. Rep.*, 1943, p. 49, text line 4.

[4] From the original plates.

[5] Expressed by a spiral symbol. The succeeding two lines are also preceded by similar symbols.

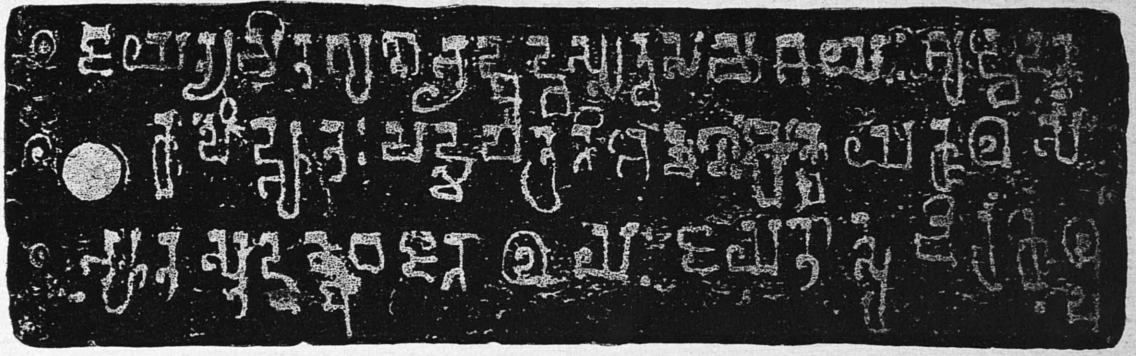
[6] This punctuation mark is unnecessary.

[7] *Sandhi* is not observed here.

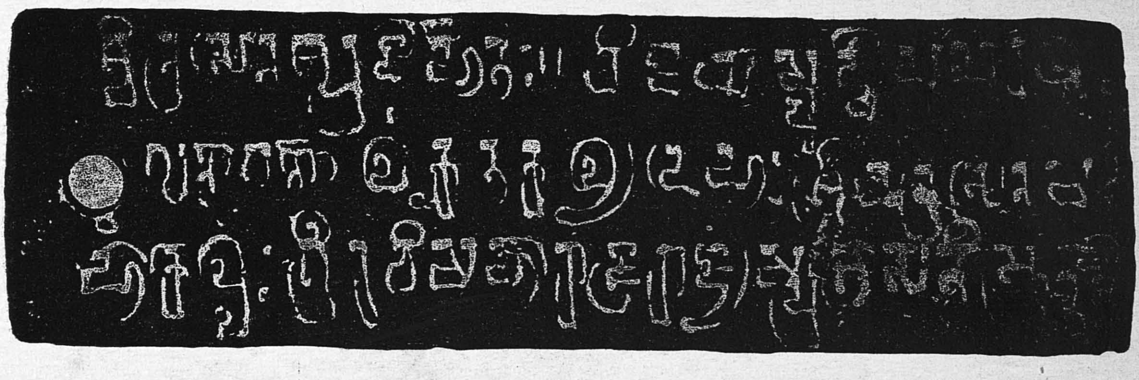
[8] This punctuation is indicated by *visarga*-like sign followed by four vertical strokes, the last of which has a wavy tail.

HONAVAR PLATES OF KAIKEYA CHITRASENA, YEAR I

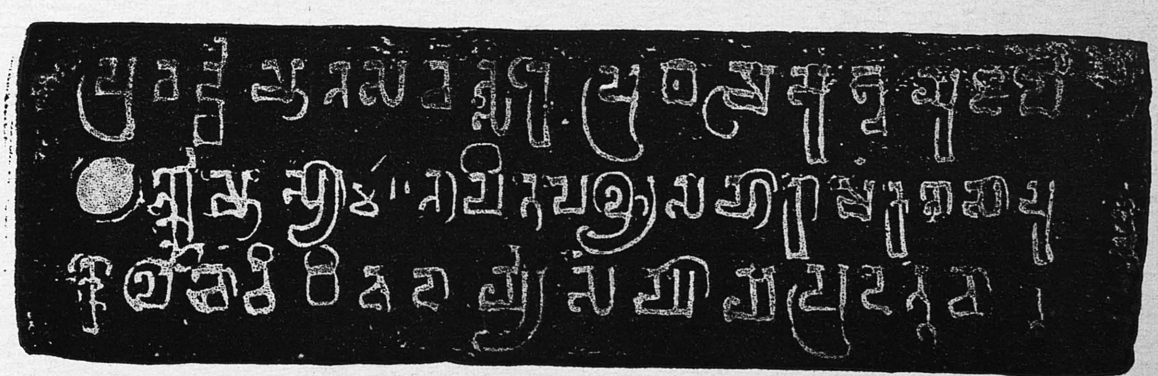
i



ii, a



ii, b



Scale : Actual

SEAL

(from Photograph)

No. 7—TWO GRANTS OF CHAULUKYA BHIMADEVA I

(*1 Plate*)

G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND

(*Received on 12. 12. 1964*)

A.—Muṁḍaka Grant of Vikrama 1086

The findspot of this copper-plate inscription is not known, but the simple text with a translation prepared by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji was published by Gerson Da Kunha in 'Origin of Bombay' appearing in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XX, p. 49. Since the record deserves to be properly edited, which has not been done so far, it is published here again.[1] The plates are now deposited in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. I am thankful to the Director of this Museum, Dr. Moti Chandra, for sending these plates to me for study and publication.[2]

The **set** consists of **two** small **copper plates** each measuring about 12·5 cm by 8·5 cm strung by a ring of 3 cm in diameter without any seal. A small portion from the lower corner on the left side of the second plate has been cut off. The set weighs 255 g. Both the plates bear writing on the inner side only, there being 6 lines on each plate. But the sixth line of the second plate has only the concluding word *iti* at the beginning while towards the right end the words *śrī-Bhīmadēvasya* representing a copy of the signature of the ruling king have been engraved in bigger characters. The writing is very well preserved.

The **characters** are Nāgarī of the 11th century. The initial vowel *a* is met with in lines 1 and 6, vowel *i* in lines 9 and 12 and vowel *ē* in line 8. The sign for *avagraha* appears in lines 8 and 11. The formation of *ti* in *iti* in lines 9 and 12 is noteworthy. The symbols for numerical figures for *0, 1, 5, 6* and *8* occur in the record.

As regards **orthography,** the symbol for *v* is used to denote *b* also (cf. *vrāhmaṇa,* line 6). *Anusvāra* has been used in place of class-nasals. The **language** is Sanskrit written in prose.

The charter is issued from Aṇahilapāṭaka and refers itself to the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja* **Bhīmadēva** who, from the date of the grant, is none else than Bhīmadēva I of the Chaulukya (Solanki) dynasty of Gujarat. The date of the grant is given in lines 1-2 as **Vikrama 1086, Vaiśākha śu. 15** and this *tithi* is referred to as *Vaiśākhī-parvan* in line 6. In the absence of weekday, this date is not verifiable but the given *tithi* corresponded to Wednesday, the **20th April, 1030 A.D.** according to *Kārttikādi* system. The **object** of the inscription is to register the grant, made by the king on the above-mentioned date, of one plough-share[3] of field to the north of the village named **Muṁḍaka** in **Vardhi-vishaya,** to Vāsudēva, son of Balabhadra, a Brāhmaṇa of the northern country.

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[1] It is briefly noticed by R. D. Banerji in *PRAS, WC.*, 1919-20, p. 54; cf. Bhandarkar's List, No. 118. It is also published in Gujarati in *Hist. Ins. of Guj.*, ed. by G. V. Acharya, Part II, No. 140.

[2] This is No. A 35 of *A.R.Ep.*, 1963-64.

[3] Both Bhagwanlal Indraji and R. D. Banerji read °*hala-vāhā ēkādaśa* here meaning eleven plough-shares but the reading is clearly °*hala-vāhā ēkā* followed by the numerical sign for *1.*

According to Mērutuṅga's *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, the accession of Bhīmadēva I took place in Vikrama 1078 (1021-22 A.D.). The inscription under study is six months later than the Radhanpur plates[1] of this king, dated Vikrama 1086, Kārtika śu. 15, which provide the earliest epigraphical date for Bhīmadēva I known so far. The latest epigraphical date of this king is furnished by the Palanpur plates[2] of Vikrama 1120 which is also the last date of his reign according to Mērutuṅga, when his son Karṇa succeeded to the throne.

Only a few inscriptions of this Bhīmadēva I have been discovered so far. Besides the present grant and the Radhanpur and Palanpur plates mentioned above, we have only four other records viz. (1) Bombay Royal Asiatic Society's grant[3] of Vikrama [10*]93, (2) Abu stone inscription[4] of Vikrama 1119, (3) Paliad plates[5] of Vikrama 1112 and (4) the Bhadrēsar plates of Vikrama 1117 edited below. Thus, there are only seven inscriptions of this king discovered so far.

The charter was written by Vaṭēśvara, son of *kāyastha* Kāñchana while the *dūtaka* was *mahāsāndhivigrahika* Chaṇḍaśarman. Vaṭēśvara was the scribe of the other grants of Bhīmadēva I except the Palanpur plates which were written by his son Kēkkaka while his father Kāñchana was the writer of the Kadi plates[6] of Mūlarāja I, showing that this office was held hereditarily. Chaṇḍaśarman was also the *dūtaka* of the Radhanpur plates of this king.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the record, **Aṇahilapāṭaka** from where the grant was issued has been identified with modern Anāvaḍā, three miles from Pāṭan in northern Gujarat. **Vardhi-vishaya** in which the village **Muṁḍaka** was situated is mentioned in other records also[7] where it is stated to be included in Sārasvata-maṇḍala and has been identified with Vadhiar or Vadhi in northern Gujarat.[8] But the identification of the village Muṁḍaka is not certain. It may, however, be pointed out that Kshēmarāja, the son of Bhīmadēva I, is stated to have died at a place called Muṇḍakēśvara on the banks of the Sarasvatī near Aṇahilapāṭaka.[9]

TEXT[10]

First Plate

1 Siddham[11] [|*] **Vikrama-saṁvat 1086 Vaiśākha-śudi 15** ady=ē-

2 ha śrīmad-**Aṇahilapāṭakē** samasta-rājāvalī-vi-

3 rājita-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-**Bhīmadēvaḥ** sva-bhu-

4 jyamāna-**Varddhi-vishay**-āntaḥpāti-**Muṁḍaka-grāmē** sa-

5 masta-janapadānvō(n=bō)dhayaty=astu vaḥ saṁviditaṁ yathā

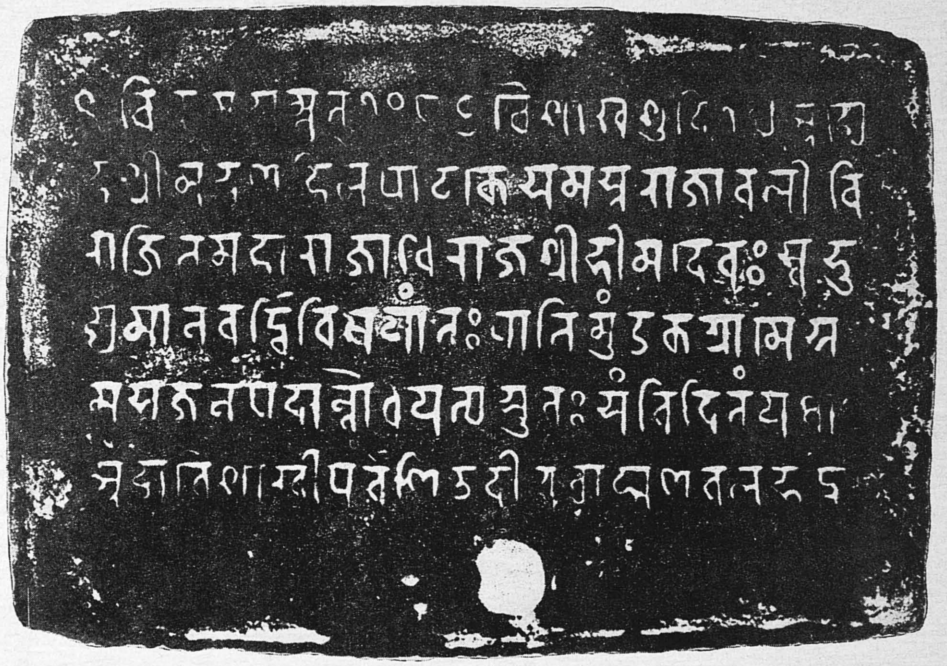
6 adya **Vaiśākhī-parvaṇi** udīch[y*]a-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-Va(Ba)labhadra-

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 193 ff.
[2] Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 171 ff.
[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 253-54. ; cf. Bhandarkar's List, No. 1464.
[4] Above, Vol. IX, p. 148.
[5] Ibid., Vol. XXXIII, pp. 235 ff.
[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 191 ff.
[7] Ibid., Vol. VI, pp. 191-93.
[8] See Sankalia, *Studies in Hist. and Cult. Geo.*, p. 203.
[9] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 170.
[10] From the original and impressions.
[11] Expressed by symbol.

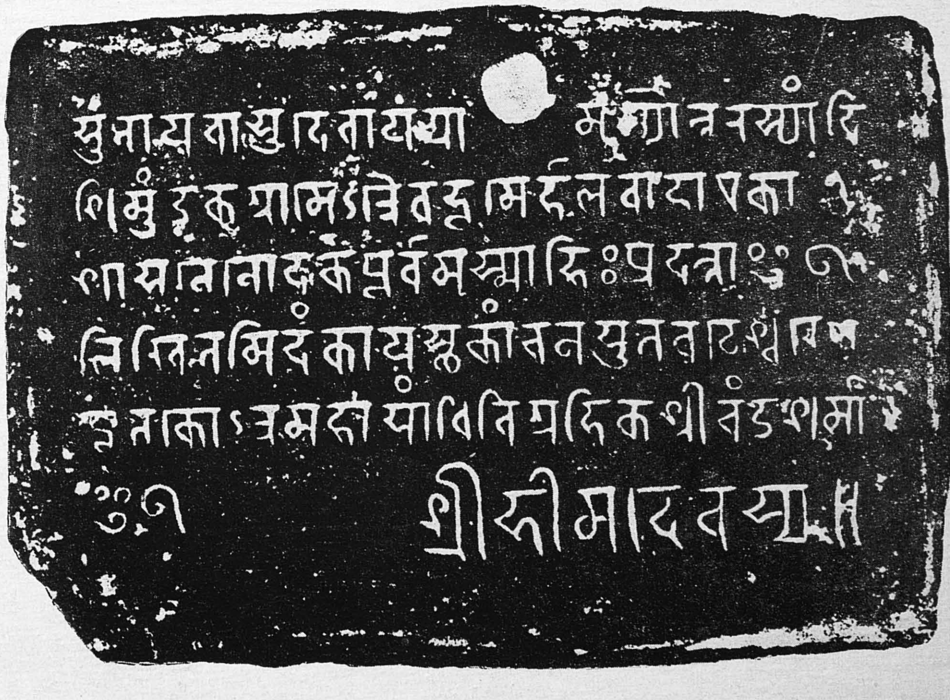
TWO GRANTS OF CHAULUKYA BHIMADEVA I—Plate I

A.—Muṁḍaka Grant of Vikrama, 1086

i



ii



Scale : Actual

Second Plate

7 sutāya Vāsudēvāya grāmasy=ōttarasyāṁ di-

8 śi Muṁḍaka-grāmē='tr=aiva bhūmēr=hala-vāhā ēkā 1

9 śāsanēn=ōdaka-pūrvam=asmābhiḥ pradattā iti [|*]

10 likhitam=idaṁ kāyastha-Kāṁchana-suta-Vaṭēśvarēṇa

11 dūtakō='tra mahāsāṁdhivigrahika-śrī-Chaṁḍaśarmā [|]

12 iti śrī-Bhīmadēvasya ||

B.—Bhadrēsar plates of Vikrama 1117

A set of photographs of this copper-plate inscription was received in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India in 1954-55 from the Curator of Bhuj Museum in Saurashtra, according to whom the plates were discovered at **Bhadrēsar** in Kutch District of Saurashtra.[1] Since the originals were not sent, the information regarding the size, weight etc., and also about the ring is not known. The **plates** are **two** in number inscribed evidently on the inner sides only. There are 26 lines in all, 13 on each plate. The **characters, orthography** and **language** are similar to those of the record A above and they do not call for any special remarks.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of **Bhīmadēva I** and mentions his predecessors starting from **Mūlarāja I** who is regarded as the founder of the Chaulukya (Solanki) dynasty of Aṇahilapāṭaka and of whose period some copper-plate grants have been published.[2] The next ruler mentioned is **Chāmuṇḍarāja** who is described as meditating on the feet of Mūlarāja without giving the relationship with him. But we know that Chāmuṇḍarāja was the son and successor of Mūlarāja.[3] Next comes **Durlabharāja** as meditating on the feet of Chāmuṇḍarāja. Durlabharāja was the younger son of the latter, the name of the elder son being Vallabharāja which is not mentioned in this record, probably due to his short reign as suggested by Bühler.[4] Durlabharājā's successor on the throne was his nephew **Bhīmadēva I** who issued the present charter. No inscriptions of the reign of Chāmuṇḍarāja, Vallabharāja and Durlabharāja have been discovered so far. But their reign-periods cover the interval of about 25 years between Mūlarāja and Bhīmadēva I and are referred to in the chronicles, particularly the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* of Mērutuṅga. According to this work, Mūlarāja was succeeded by Chāmuṇḍarāja in Vikrama 1050 or 993 A.D. and ruled for about 13 years. Chāmuṇḍarāja's successor Vallabharāja was on the throne for about six months only when he died of small-pox.[5] His brother Durlabharāja ruled for about 12 years when he was succeeded by Bhīmadēva I in Vikrama 1078 or 1022 A.D., whose latest date is Vikrama 1120 or 1063 A.D., as given in this work and also as furnished by his Palanpur plates.[6] Thus Bhīmadēva I had a long reign of over 40 years.

1 This is *A.R. Ep.* 1954-5, No. A 4.
2 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 191-93; above, Vol. X, pp. 76-79.
3 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 184.
4 Ibid.
5 H.C. Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 944.
6 Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 171 ff.

The date of the present record is given both in words and figures in lines 8-10, as **Vikrama 1117, Jyēshṭha ba. 15, solar eclipse.** No weekday is mentioned. The *tithi* corresponded to **Wednesday, the 20th June 1061 A.D.,** when there was a solar eclipse, the year being Kārttikādi.

The **object** of the inscription is to register the grant, made by the king Bhīmadēva I, of the village **Jabhaganā** situated in **Kachchha-maṇḍala** to Gōvinda, son of Brāhmaṇa Dāmōdara who belonged to Vatsa-gōtra, Vājasanēya-śākhā and Yajurvēda and who had emigrated from **Prasannapura.** The boundaries of the gift village are given as follows : in the east and south the village **Ḍhōlā** ; in the west, the village **Masilāṇā** ; and in the north the village **Vājāṇā.**

The scribe of this charter is the same as in No. A above, viz. Vaṭēśvara, son of *kāyastha* Kāñchana but the *dūtakā* was *mahāsāndhivigrahika* Bhōgāditya who figures also in the Paliad[1] and Palanpur[2] plates of the king. The charter ends with a copy of the signature of the king as śrī-Bhīmadēvasya engraved in slightly bigger characters.

As regards the **place-names, Kachchha-maṇḍala** is modern Kutch in Saurāshṭra now in Gujarat State. **Prasannapura,** from where the donee hailed, is also referred to as Prasannapura-sthāna in Kachchha-maṇḍala in the Bombay Asiatic Society plates of this king mentioned above. But its exact identification is not certain. Similarly, the gift village **Jabhaganā** and the villages mentioned as its boundaries cannot be identified.

TEXT[3]

First Plate

1 Siddham[4] [||*] Rājāvalī pūrvvavat || Paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramē-

2 śvara-**śrī-Mūlarājadēva**-pādānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirā-

3 ja-paramēśvara-**śrī-Chāmuṁḍarājadēva**-pādānudhyāta-parama-bhaṭṭāraka-ma-

4 hārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-**śrī-Durllabharājadēva**-pādānudhyāta-para-

5 mabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-**śrī-Bhīmadēvaḥ** sva-bhujyamā-

6 na-**Kachchha-maṇḍal**-āntaḥpātinō(ni) **Jabhaganā-grāmē** samasta-rājapurushānu[5]

7 Vrā(Brā)hmaṇ-ōttarāṁs=tan-nivāsi-janapadāṁs=cha vō(bō)dhayaty=astu vaḥ saṁviditaṁ ya-

8 thā **Vikramādity-ōtpādita-saṁvachchharēshv**[6]=**ēkādaśasu sapta-daś-ādhikēshu Jyē-**

[1] Ibid., Vol. XXXIII, pp. 215 ff.
[2] Ibid., Vol. XXI, pp. 171 ff.
[3] From the photographs.
[4] Expressed by a symbol.
[5] Read *purushān.*
[6] Read *saṁvatsara-śatēshv=.*

TWO GRANTS OF CHAULUKYA BHIMADEVA I—Plate II

B.—Bhadrēsvar Plates of Vikrama, 1117

i

ii

(from Photographs)

9 **shṭā(shṭh-ā)māvāsyāṁ Sūrya-grahaṇa-parvvaṇi** yatr=ā[ṁ*]katō=pi **Saṁvat 1117 Jyē-**

10 **shṭa(shṭha)-vadi 15** adya charāchara-gurām[1] bhagavantaṁ Mahēśvaram=abhyarcha (rchya) pitrō-

11 r=ā-tmanaś=cha svanya[2]-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē **Prasannapura**-vinirgata-Vachchha-sagōtra-paṁ-

12 chārishēya-Vājasnēya-śākhā[ṇaṁ] Yajur[3]vvēdī(di)-Brāhmaṇa-Dāmōdara-

13 sūnu-Gōviṁdāsa(ya) upari-likhi |[4] ta-Jabhagaṇā-śrā(grā)maḥ [sva-sīmā]-

Second Plate

14 paryantaḥ sa-vṛiska(ksha)-mālākulaḥ sa-hiraṇya-bhāgabhōgaḥ sa-

15 rvva-dāya-samētaḥ pūrvva-datta-dēva-vra(bra)hma-dāya-varjjaḥ śāsanē-

16 n=ōdaka-pūrvvam=asmābhiḥ pradatta[ḥ*|] asya cha pūrvva-diśi **Ḍhōlā-grāmaḥ** dakshi |[4]-

17 ṇataḥ punaḥ Ḍhōlā-grāmaḥ paśchimāyāṁ diśi **Masilāṇā-grāmaḥ** uttara-

18 syāṁ diśi **Vājāṇā-grāmaḥ** chatur-āghāṭ-ōpalakshitaṁ grāmam=ēvam=avagamya

19 tan-nivāsi-janapadair=yathā-dīyamāna-bhāga-bhōga-kara-hiraṇyādi pūrvva[vat*]

20 ājñā-śravaṇa-vidhēyair=bhūtvā sarvvadā asmai vrā(brā)hmaṇa-Gōviṁdāya samupanē-

21 tavyaṁ(vyam)[|*] Sāmānyaṁ chē(ch=ai)tat=punya(ṇya)-pa(pha)laṁ vu(bu)[d*]dhvā asmad-vaṁsa-(śa) jair=aparair=api bhāvi-bhōktṛi-

22 bhir=asmat-pradatta-dharmmadāyō=yaṁ maṁtavyaḥ pālanīyaś=cha || [u] ktaṁ cha bhaga vatā

23 Vyāsēna | Shashṭirvvarsha-[5] sahasrāṇi svargē tishṭhaṁ(shṭha)ti bhūmidaḥ | āchchhēta-(ttā) ch=ānu-

[1] Read *guruṁ*.

[2] Read *puṇya*-.

[3] Read *pañchārshēya-Vatsa-sagōtra-Vājasanēya-śākhinē Yajur°*.

[4] This *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

[5] Read *Shashṭiṁ varsha*-.

24 maṁrā(tā) cha tānya(ny=ē)va narakaṁ(kē) vasēta[1] |[|*] Likhitam=idaṁ śāsanaṁ Kāya-stha-Kāṁcha-

25 [na]-suta-Vaṭēśvarēṇa dūtakō=tra mahāsāṁvi(dhi)vigrahika-śrī-Bhōgā-

26 ditya iti || śrī-Bhīmadēvasya ||[2]

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[1] Read *vasēt*.

[2] These letters are written in bigger characters.

No. 8—CHERUVU-MADHAVARAM PLATES OF KALI-VISHNUVARDHANA

(*1 Plate*)

H. K. NARASIMHASWAMI, OOTACAMUND

(*Received on 1.5. 1963*)

The set of plates discovered in **Cheruvu-Mādhavaram**, Krishna District, were secured through the District Collector, Krishna, Andhra Pradesh, sometime in June 1953 and reviewed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for the year.[1] The plates have also been noticed in the *Journal of Oriental Research* by Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao.[2]

The set consists of three oblong plates 22 cm. by 9 cm. with raised rims and holes on their left margin for the ring which has its ends soldered into a mass of metal flattened at the top to form the seal which, unfortunately, is completely obliterated. The first and the third plates are inscribed on their inner faces while the middle one bears writing on both the sides. The **characters** belong to the Southern Class usually met with in inscriptions of the Eastern Chālukyas. The writing is well preserved and, on palaeographical grounds, assignable to the **middle of the 9th century.** The **language** of the record which is Sanskrit throughout is, however, rather faulty.

As for the **orthography,** it may be pointed out that the usual practice of doubling the consonant following the *rēpha* is uniformly observed throughout. The use of the same subscript for *na* as well as *ṇa* may be observed in the expressions *bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa* (line 5) and *suvarṇṇa* (lines 14-15).

The opening verse of the charter invoking happiness on all beings, the kine, the Brāhmaṇas and the kings as well, is identical with that in the Eḍeru plates of Amma I.[3] This is followed (lines 2-8) by the characteristic preamble occurring in the numerous charters of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty and commencing with the words : *Śrīmatāṁ sakala-bhuvana-saṁstūyamāna-Mānavya-sagōtrāṇāṁ,* etc., but considerably cut short by the total omission of any reference to the name of the family and to the forebears preceding the grandfather of the ruling king. The same omission also occurs in the Ahadanakara,[4] Permajīli[5] and Reṇḍubaḷḷi[6] plates. Besides, by an inadvertent omission, the scribe or the engraver has failed to write the last portion of the preamble following the words *Gaṁgā-Yamunā°*. After introducing the donor **Vishṇuvardhana Mahārāja** *alias* **Kali Viṭṭara** as the son of Vijayāditya and the grandson of Sarvalōkāśraya Vishṇuvarddhana Mahārāja (lines 9-12), the inscription proceeds to record the royal grant. The **object** of the record, given in lines 12-19, is to register a tax-free gift of land, on the occasion of **Uttarāyaṇa,** to the deity Nagarēśvara-bhaṭṭāraka, consecrated by the king in association with the merchant-community (*nagara*) at **Vijayavāṭapura.** The recipient of the gift was Paśupati-bhagavatpāda, a disciple of Amṛitasōma-āchārya who was himself a disciple of Balasōma-bhagavanta. The last, i.e. Balasōma is described as one living in the Gaṁgaṟa-guhā and probably as having hailed from Ujjayinī. The gift land, it is stated, was bought for gold, from Drōṇakuṟṟa-bhaṭṭa of the Kāśyapa-*gōtra.* The king had this deed proclaimed to all the residents of Kaṇḍēṟuvāḍi. Thereafter are recorded (lines 19-20) the boundaries of the gift

[1] *A. R. Ep.*, 1953-54, App. A No. 1.
[2] *J. O. R.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 89 ff.
[3] *SII*, Vol. I, pp. 36 ff.
[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 185.
[5] *A. R. Ep.*, 1913-14, App. A, No. 6.
[6] Ibid., 1914-15, App. A, No. 2.

land, namely, the great road on the East, South and West and the village **Chintaguṇṭipunta** on the North. This is followed (lines 21-26) by the ususal imprecatory verses. Then occurs a verse which introduces Vikramāditya, the executor (*ājñapti*) of the royal order as the maternal uncle (*mātula*) of Vishṇuvardhana. The document ends with another verse in faulty *anushṭubh* mentioning Rāmāchārya as its writer. The charter is not dated.

Kali-Viṭṭara *alias* **Vishṇuvardhana** who issued this charter is none else than Kali-Vishṇuvardhana of the Eastern Chālukya family. The record is **important** as it is the only one which could be definitely attributed to Kali-Vishṇuvaradhana. Among the Eastern Chālukyas there were two kings who bore the name of Vishṇuvarddhana, the names of whose fathers and grandfathers were also Vijayāditya and Vishṇuvardhana respectively. The Ahadanakara plates, the Permajīli and the Reṇḍubaḷḷi grants referred to above are instances to the point. These have been attributed by some scholars to the reign of the Kali-Vishṇuvardhana, but without sufficient evidence to substantiate the ascription. Kali-Vishṇuvardhana, or Kali-Viṭṭara as he is here called, was the 12th in succession from Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana, the first king of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty. He was the son of Narēndramṛigarāja-Vijayāditya II who had a long reign of fortyfour years. Computing the known reign periods of all the kings from Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana down to Vijayāditya II as 230 years and taking the year of commencement of the Eastern Chālukya rule as 622-23,[1] we get 622-23+230 or 852-53 A.D.[2] as the initial year of Kali-Vishṇuvardhana's reign. His rule, however, was of a short duration, lasting only for a year and a half,[3] and was followed by that of his son Guṇaga Vijayāditya who reigned for fortyfour years.

Barring the fact of the short duration of his reign, the Eastern Chālukya charters furnish very little information about Kali-Vishṇuvardhana, the only exceptions among them being the Eḍeru[4] and the Sātalūru[5] plates, the former describing the king in three verses as the brave lord of Veṅgi who was well versed in the science of polity, skilled in fighting (*kali*) with all weapons, devoted to the art of protecting his subjects, ever engaged in the conquest of hostile cities and skilled in fighting with elephants and horses; and the latter devoting to him a single verse praising him in general terms.

The records of Guṇaga Vijayāditya state that he was the son of Kali-Vishṇuvardhana by Śīlamahādēvī or Śīlakāṁbā, a princess of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family.[6] That she was a Rāshṭrakūṭa princess, the daughter of Indrarāja by Paramakāṁbā, is known from a copper plate grant.[7] Her grandmother, also a Śīlamahādēvī, the queen of Rāshṭrakūṭa Dhruvarāja was an Eastern Chālukya princess,[8] a daughter of Sarvalōkāśraya Viṭṭarasa or Vishṇuvarddhana. The present grant scarcely adds anything to our knowledge about Kali-Vishṇuvarddhana either in respect of his achievements or of his family. But a lone lithic record from Guṇḍlāpalle, Ongole Taluk, Guntur District, apparently belonging to the reign of Narēndramṛigarāja Vijayāditya mentions Kali-Viṭrāja, no doubt Kali-Vishṇuvardhana or Kali-Viṭṭara of our grant, as the husband of Aytakavva, revealing thereby the name of another queen of this king, not known from any other source.

Of Vikramāditya, the maternal uncle (*mātula*) of the king who figures as the executor (*ājñapti*) of the charter, nothing is known. He must have been a prince of some royal family

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[1] Above, Vol. XXXI, p. 76.

[2] If Kokkili's 6 months are taken into account, it may be 852-53 or 853-54 A.D.

[3] Two charters viz. the Pōnaṅgi plates (*A.R. Ep.*, 1908-09, App. A No. 39) and the Sisali plates (*Bhārati*, Vol. XXIII, Pt. 1, p. 484), both of Guṇaga Vijayāditya, assign a period of reign of 20 months to this king.

[4] *SII*, Vol. I, p. 39, verses 5-7.

[5] *Bhārati*, Vol. I, pp. 104, text lines 22-25.

[6] *A. R. Ep.*, 1908-09, App. A, No. 3; ibid., 1911-12, App. A, No. 5; ibid., 1938-39, App. A, No. 3, etc.

[7] *A. R. Ep.*, 1938-39, App. A No. 3 where the name of the princess' father has been wrongly read as Chandrarāja for Indrarāja.

[8] Above, Vol. XXII, p. 99.

in virtue of the epithet *bhūpati* appened to his name, but other than the Eastern Chālukya house because of his relationship to this house to which his (Vikramāditya's) sister was given in marriage. That the Eastern Chālukyas had matrimonial alliances with the Rāshṭrakūṭas has already been referred to. But there is no prince of this name among the members of this house. However, this name is common among some ruling families of the south such as the Vaidumbas, the Chōḷas of Rēnāḍu and the Bāṇas, but there is no clue in the charter if Vikramāditya-bhūpati belonged to any one of these families. Whichever it was, Kali-Vishṇavarddhana seems to have named his son Vikramāditya after his own (Kali-Vishṇuvarddhana's) maternal uncle.

As for the **place names** occurring in the charter, **Ujjayinī** from which the pontiff seems to have hailed is possibly the famous Ujjain which flourished as the capital of Avantī. **Vijaya-vāṭapura** in which the gift land lay is the modern Vijayavāḍa or Bezwada. Its name occurs as Bejavāḍa and Pechchavāḍa in Telugu and as Vijayavāṭikā in Sanskrit in inscriptions from this place itself.[1] It is called Vijayavāḍai *alias* Rājēndrachōḷapuram in a Tamil record from this place.[2] The fact that the grant was duly made known to the *Rāshṭrakūṭa-pramukhas* and the *kuṭumbins* of **Kaṇḍēṟuvāḍi-vishaya** presupposes that the gift-land was situated in this division. A few inscriptions in the Mallēśvara temple at Vijayavāḍa[3] refer to the division Kōna-Kaṇḍravāḍi, apparently distinguishing it from Kaṇḍravāḍi. Two Eastern Chālukya copper-plate records, one from Bezwada[4] and the other from Masulipatam[5] refer to the endowed villages Kūkipaṟṟu and Veḍatalūru respectively as situated in Uttara-Kaṇḍēṟuvāṭi-vishaya. Although there are no clues to identify these two villages and thereby fix the approximate extent of Uttara-Kaṇḍēru-vāḍi, we may not be out of the mark if we say that this division was synonymous with Kōna-Kaṇḍravāḍi and that it comprised parts at least of the Bezwada and Bandar taluks along the north bank of the Kṛishṇā river. This is indirectly corroborated by the Malkāpuram inscription which refers to Kaṇḍravāṭi as a division comprised in Velināḍu-vishaya and bounded on the north by the river Kṛishṇā. It may, therefore, be inferred that Kaṇḍravāḍi comprised of two distinct divisions, one to the north of the river Kṛishṇā, the Kōna-Kaṇḍravāḍi or the Uttara Kaṇḍravāḍi and the other to the south of it, the latter extending over parts of the Repalle, Guntur and Sattenapalle taluks of the Guntur District and referred to in inscriptions as Kaṇḍravāḍi, Kaṇḍēruvāṭi, Gaṇḍēruvāṭi or Ivani-Kaṇḍravāḍi.[6] Evidently this latter subdivision is mentioned in our record as Kaṇḍēruvāḍi.

TEXT

First Plate

1 Sarvv-ākāram=āśēshasya jagatas=sarvvadā śivaṁ(vam) [|*] gō-brāhmaṇā(ṇa)-nṛipāṇa(ṇā)ñ=cha

2 śivam bhā(bha)vatu sa[r*]vvataḥ [|| 1*] Svasta(sti) [|*] Śrīmatāṁ sakala-bhuvana-saṁstu(stū)yamāna-Mā-

3 navya-sagōtrāṇāṁ Hāritī-putrāṇāṁ Kauśikī-vara-parasāda-labdha-rājyānāṁ mmā(mā)-

4 tṛi-gaṇa-paripālitānāṁ Svāmi-Mahāsēna-pād-ānudhyātānāṁ bhagava-

5 n-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda-samāsādita-vara-varāha-lañcha(ñchha)n-ēkshaṇa-kshaṇa-vaśīkṛi-

6 taṁ(t-ā)rātī-maṇḍalānām=Aśvamēdh-ā[va*]bhṛita(tha)-snāna-pavitri(trī)kṛita-vapushāṁ samadhi-

7 gat-āśēshō(sha)-mahāśabda-[jhaṁ]pada- ḍhakkā-pāhi(li)[kē]tana-śvēt-ātapatra-mi(vī)jya-māna-

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1 *SII*, Vol. X, Nos. 22, 33 and 133.
2 Ibid., Vol. IX, No. 779.
3 *SII*, Vol. IV, Nos. 722, 780, 781-A.
4 Above, Vol. V, pp. 127 ff.
5 *A. R. Ep.*, 1914, pp. 84-85.
6 Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 56 and f.n.2; *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 128 ; ibid., Vol. X, Nos. 109, 112.

Second Plate, First Side

8 [chā]mara-kalāpa-gōpura-[dvār-ōbhaya]-pārśva-pratishṭhāpita-Gaṁgā-Yamunā[1]

9 Pṛithivīvallbha-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-Paramabrahmaṇyaḥ Para-

10 ma[mā*]hēśva[raḥ*] māta(tā)-pitṛi-pād-ānu[dh]yātas=Sarvvama(lō)kāśraya-śrī-**Vishṇuva-rddhana-ma-**

11 **hāraja[ḥ*]** tasya suta[sya*] **Vijayāditya-mahārājasya** putra[ḥ*] **Kali-Viṭṭara-**

12 **namana śrī-Vishṇuvarddhana-mahārājñā** nagarasahitēna liṅga-pra[ti*]shṭhā[ṁ] kṛitvā

13 **Vijayavāṭapurē** tasya(smai) Nagarēśvara-bhaṭṭāraka(kā)ya asht-ōttara-śata-kha-

14 ṇḍikā-[kō*]drav-āvāpa-kshētraṁ Kāśyapa-gōtra-Drōṇakuṟṟabhaṭṭa-hastē suvā(va)-

Second Plate, Second Side

15 rṇṇa[ṁ*] datta(ttvā) gṛithītvā datta[m*] **Ujjayā(yi)nyā Gaṁgaṟa-guha(hā)**-vāsinō Balasōma-bhaga-

16 vantasya[2] śishya[sya*] Amṛitasōma-[3] āchāryyasya śishya(shyā)[ya*] Paśupati-bha[ga]vō(va)-tpa(tpā)da[4] [||*]

17 **Kaṇḍēṟuvāḍi-vishaya**--vāsinaḥ Rāshṭrakūṭa-pramukhān=kuṭuṁbinas=sarvva(rvvān)=ittha [m=ā]-

18 jñāpayati [|*] Viditam=astu vō=smābhi[ḥ*] **Uttarāyaṇa-nimittē** s-ōdaka-pū-

19 rvva[ṁ*] sarvva-kara-parihāra[ḥ kṛitaḥ*][5] [||*] Tasy=ā[va]dhaya[ḥ |*] Pūrvvataḥ mahā-pathaḥ [|*] Dakshiṇataḥ ma-

20 ha(hā)-pathaḥ [|*] Paśchimataḥ mahā-pathaḥ [|*] Uttā(tta)rataḥ **Chintaguṇṭi[punta]**-nāma-grām[aḥ] [|*]

21 Asy=ōpari na kēnachid=bādhā karaṇ[ī]yā [|*] Yaḥ karōti sa paṁcha-mahāpā-

Third Plate

22 taka-sa[ṁ]yuktō bhavati [|*] Vyāsēn=āpy=uktam [|*] Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā bahubhiś=ch=ā-

23 nupālitā [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā [pha]laṁ(lam) [|| 2*] Sva-dattā[ṁ] pa-

24 ra-dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasuṁ(su)ndharaṁ(rām) [|*] shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasra(srā)ṇi vishṭhāyāṁ jāya-

25 tē kṛimiḥ [|| 3*] Na vishaṁ visham=ity=āhuḥ dē[va*]-sva[ṁ] visham=uchyatē [|*] visham=ēkāki-

26 na[ṁ*] hanti dēva-svaṁ putra-pautri(tra)kam [|| 4*] Ājñaptir=asya dharmmasya Vishṇuva-rddhana-mātu-

27 lā(laḥ) [|*] vikrama-hra(krā)nta-bhū-chakrē(krō) Vikramāditya-bhūpatiḥ [|| 5*] Nagarē-śvarabhaṭṭ[a]ra-tām[r]a-

28 saśāna-saśānama[6] [|*] Rama(Rāmā)chāryyēṇ=ālikhi[taṁ*] Naka(ga)rēśvara-bhaṭṭāraka-(kā)ya ||[7] [6*]

[1] Some words usually following this are inadvertently omitted here. The Sātalūr plates of Guṇaga Vijay-āditya read *dvāri pratishṭhāpita-Gaṅgā-Yamunā-chandr-āditya-pālikētana-samadhigataḥ(ta)-pañcha-mahāśabda* (*Bharati*, Vol. I, p. 105, text lines 29-30).

[2] Read *°vataḥ*.

[3] *Sandhi* is not observed here.

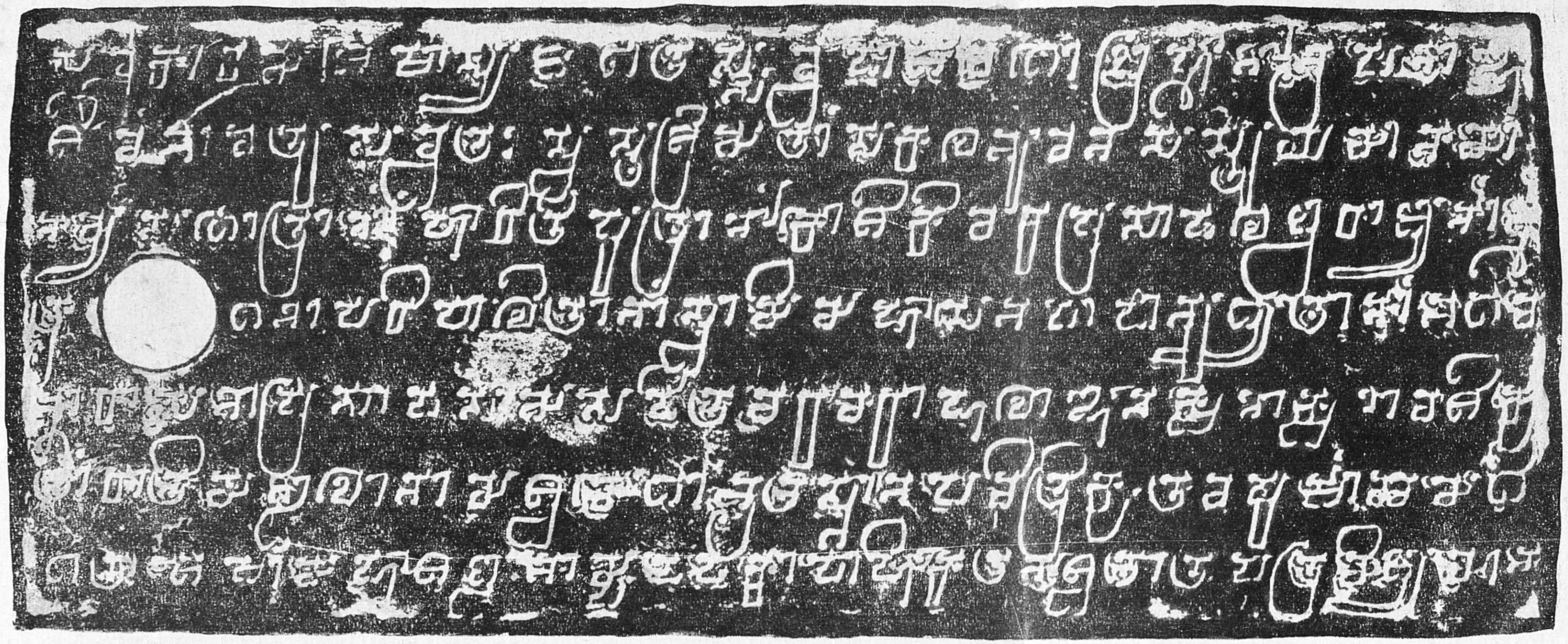
[4] Probably we have to construe this as *suvarṇaṁ dattvā kshētraṁ gṛihītvā Paśupati-bhagavatpādāya dattam.*

[5] The proper construction of lines 12-19 should be *°nāmā .... mahārājā Kaṇḍēruvāḍi .... asmābhiḥ nagarasahitaiḥ .... pratishṭhāṁ kṛitvā .... kshētraṁ .... dattaṁ .... parihāraḥ kṛitaś=cha.*

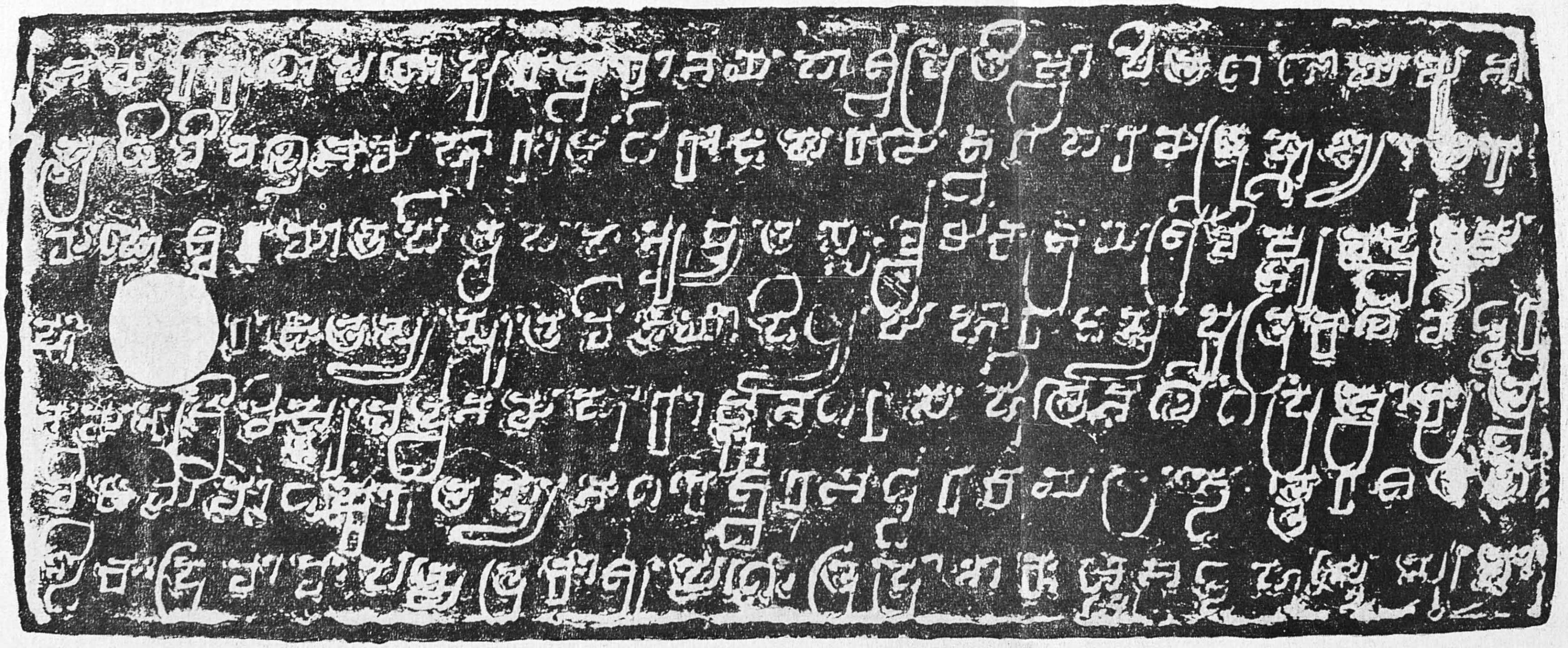
[6] Read *tāmra-śāsana-śāsanam*[|*]

[7] This punctuation mark is indicated by two strokes, one above the other. The metre of the second half of this verse is defective.

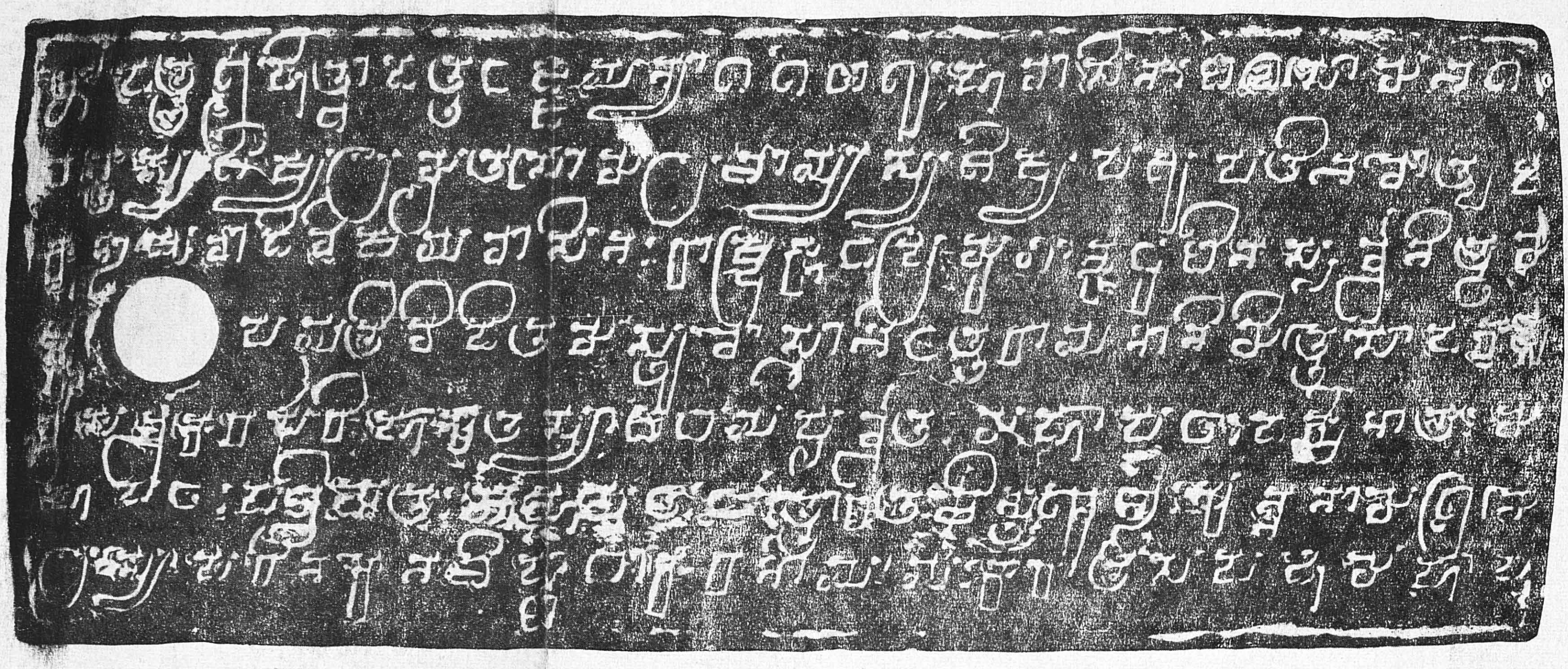
i



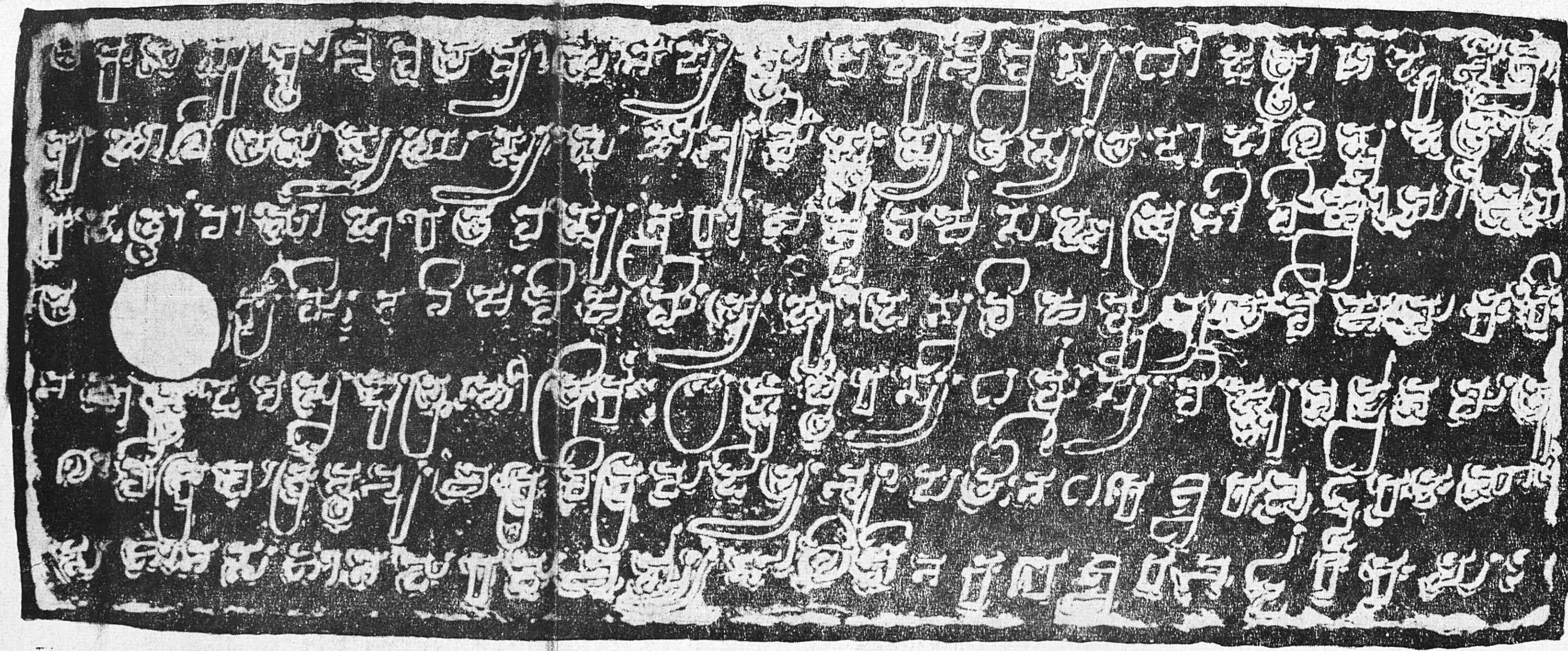
ii, a



ii, b



iii



Scale : Four-sevenths

No. 9—A NOTE ON THE COINS OF MAHISHA KINGS

(*1 Plate*)

V. V. Mirashi, Nagpur

(*Received on 4.12.1963*)

Dr. D. C. Sircar has criticised my attribution of certain coins to Mahisha Kings and has recently given his own readings of the legends of these coins and their interpretation in this Journal.[1] We shall examine them critically here.

We shall first take the two coins[2] from the collection of Mr. Hurmuz Kaus.

Coin No. 1 : This coin is of copper and is squarish in shape. It measures 1″ by .9″. It weighs 130 grains. It has on the obverse the figure of an elephant facing right, with the trunk uplifted. In the field appears the figure of a svastika above the back of the elephant, with the legend running in a circle, beginning in the lower left corner. As the blank was smaller than the die, some of the *aksharas* have not come out at the lower left and upper right corner. The legend reads —*gamanamaha*[*sa*]. On the reverse is the usual Ujjain symbol, each orb of which has a pellet in a double circle, with a svastika between each pair of orbs.

Coin No. 2 is smaller in size, though somewhat thicker, measuring .95″ by .75″. Its weight is 180 grains. It has the same type on the obverse and reverse, but nearly half the figure of the elephant and some letters at the upper right corner have been cut off. Fortunately, some letters which were missing on Coin 1, have come out clearly on this coin at the lower left corner, and the border of the circular die can also be marked clearly on the left. The legend on this coin reads *Raṁno*[3] *Sagamana*[*ma*]-.

The legends on the two coins are complementary to each other. Putting the two fragments together, the complete legend of this type of coins can be restored as *Raṁño Sagamanamahasa*[*sa**]. The last *akshara* is conjecturally supplied as the legend must have ended in the genitive affix *sa*, corresponding to *raṁño.*

We have next to interpret this legend. In this connection I was happy to notice the following hemistich in the Purāṇas :—

Śakyamān=ābhavad=rājā Mahishīṇāṁ mahīpatiḥ.[4]

The resemblance of the name *Śakyamāna* to *Sagamāna* at once attracted my attention. The type and fabric of the coins suggested that they were imitated from those of the Sātavāhanas and must have been issued about 250 A.D. The hemistich in question occurs in a section which, according to Pargiter, mentions the dynasties of the third century A.D.[5] The resemblance of the royal name and the agreement of the age in which the two kings flourished suggested that they might be identical.

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[1] Above, Vol. XXXV, pp. 69 ff.

[2] See Nos. 1 and 2 in the attached Plate. These are somewhat enlarged photographs, kindly supplied by Mr. Hurmuz Kaus. For the reverse of these coins, see *Stud. Ind.*, Vol. III, Pl. IV, Nos. 3 and 4.

[3] Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in this article.

[4] Pargiter, *D. K. A.*, p. 51.

[5] Ibid., p. 50.

Pargiter could not give a satisfactory explanation of this hemistich. He translated it as follows : 'Śakyamāna was king of the Mahishīs'.[1] This makes no sense. I, therefore, proposed the following emendation of the hemistich :

Śaka-Māno=bhavad=rājā Mahishāṇāṁ mahīpatiḥ.

I took it to mean that the Śaka Māna was the king of the Mahishas.

Against my reading of the coin-legend and its interpretation Dr. Sircar has raised the following objections :[2]

(1) The complete legend of the coins is not *Raṁño Sagamāna-Mahasasa*, but *Sagamāna Mahāsenāpatisa Chuṭukulasa*, which means '(*This coin is*) of Chuṭukula, the *Mahāsenāpati* of the Sagamas.'

(2) There is no word like *raṁño* in the beginning of the legend near the end of the elephant's tail. It is a six-peaked hill symbol.

These are not valid objections. These two coins were evidently imitated from the corresponding Elephant-type coins of the Sātavāhanas. I pointed out the following similarities between the two types of coins in my very first article on these coins :—[3]

(i) The type 'Elephant with up-lifted trunk' is the same. (ii) The die of the coins was circular, though the blank was square. (iii) The legend commences in the lower left corner and ends in the upper right corner. (iv) Many of the older symbols such as the triangular standard and the flattened rings on a vertical rod noticed on the older Sātavāhana coins are conspicuous by their absence, but the *svastika* still remains and is seen between the orbs of the Ujjain symbol as on the oldest Sātavāhana coin.

In view of these similarities, we must assume a certain similarity in their legends also. Now comparing the legend on the two types of coins viz. (1) the two coins of the so-called king Chuṭukula of the Sagama family with the legend *Sagamāna Mahāsenāpatisa Chuṭukulasa* and (2) the coin of Puḷumāvi[4] with the legend *Raṇā siri-Puḷumāvisa*, we find that (i) on the coin of the so-called king Chuṭukula, the title *Mahāsenāpati* does not come in the beginning as it should, like the title *raṇā* on the coin of Puḷumāvi ; (ii) the suggestion that the sign behind the hind legs of the elephant is a six-peaked hill is fantastic. It is clearly the title *raṁño* as on innumerable coins of the Sātavāhanas.[5] Dr. Sircar takes the incomeplete word *mahasa-* at the end of the legend on Coins Nos. 1 and 2 to be part of the title *Mahāsenāpatisa* and finding that such a title would be incongruous with the word *raṁño* in the beginning, he supposes that word to be a hill symbol. In none of the elephant-type coins discovered so far is there such a symbol behind the hind legs of the elephant. Additional symbols, if any, are seen to occur in the field above the back of the elephant or in front of it.[6] (iii) The legend commences behind the hind legs of the elephant on the so-called coins of Chuṭukula as on the coins of the Sātavāhanas. It must, therefore, have ended near the up-lifted trunk of the elephant as on the latter coins. There is no space for the letters *napatisa Chuṭukulasa* after *mahasa* in the right top corner. There is space only for one letter and I have supplied that letter as *sa* so that *mahasasa* would be in agreement with *raṁño* in the beginning of the legend. So the complete legend on these coins is *Raṁño Sagamānamahasasa.*

[1] Ibid., p. 73.

[2] Above, Vol. XXXV, pp. 71 f.

[3] *IHQ*, Vol. XXII, p. 35 ; *Stud. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 57.

[4] *Stud. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 39.

[5] The letters are quite clear in No. 2 of the attached plate. There is one more letter before *raṁño*. Mr. Kaus suggests that it may be *ri* of *siri* but this word follows *raṁño* in the legend of a coin of Sātavāhana.

[6] Ibid., Vol. III, p. 1, Pl. I, No. 1.

Now about thei nterpretation of this legend Dr. Sircar takes *Sagamāna* to be the genitive plural meaning 'of the Sagamas or of the Sagama family'. He calls attention to such expressions as *Pallavāṇa Sivakhaṁdavamo* in the Hirahadgalli plates[1] of Śivaskaṇdavarman. It should, however, be noted that (i) the latter expression occurs in a copper-plate inscription where there is no dearth of space. There is no such space for the partitive genitive expression in the legend of a coin and in fact no such partitive genitive expression denoting a royal family occurs in the legend of any coin discovered so far. (ii) The family name generally occurs after a personal name in the legends on coins. Cf. *Raño siri-Yaña-Sātakaṇisa* ; *Raño siri-Kubha-Sātakaṇisa* ; *[Pa]kasasiva-Sebakasa* etc.[2] If the drafter of the legend wanted to insert the name *Sagama* of the royal family, he would have worded the legend as follows—*Mahāsenāpatisa Chuṭukula-Sagamasa.* (iii) It has been shown above that there is not sufficient space for the nine *aksharas -napatisa Chuṭukulasa* after *Sagamāna mahasa* on these coins, but unless we have so many *aksharas* after the existing legend there would be no mention of the royal name as, according to Dr. Sircar, *Sagamāna* means 'of the Sagamas' and *Mahasēnapati* would be only a title of the issuer. The lettering on these coins is bold. One can easily see that there is not enough space for so many *aksharas* even if we suppose that the legend surrounded the figure of the elephant completely.

I have conjectured in my reading of the legend that there was one *akshara sa* after *Mahasa* and the full legend on these elephant-type coins was *Raṁño Saga-Māna-Mahasasa.* Fortunately, my conjecture is supported by the legend of an actual coin and that too of the king Māna himself.[3] In the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XI, pp. 1 f. I published a lion-type coin found in the excavations at Kondapur, which was sent to me for decipherment by Mr. K. M. Ahmed, Curator of the Hyderabad Museum. The coin has the figure of a lion with the tail uplifted. The legend, which is fragmentary, runs round the edge at the top. The reverse has the Ujjain symbol imperfectly preserved with a pellet in each orb.

The existing legend reads *-ṇa Mahasasa.* The vertical of *ṇa* is split into two parts as noticed occasionally in the inscriptions of the Kushāṇa age. The characters show that the coin is of about the second or third century A.D. There are faint traces of an *akshara* like *ma* in the beginning. So the legend may have been *Māṇa-Mahasasa.* This Māṇa may have been identical with Māna of the elephant-type coins, notwithstanding a slight difference in their names and the difference in the types of their coins. Be that as it may, there is no doubt about the reading *Mahasasa.* Anybody can satisfy himself from the facsimile published with this article.[4]

Finding that the evidence of this coin goes against his theory about the issuer of the elephant-type coins, Dr. Sircar has attempted to read the legend on this lion-type coin as *Maharaṭhisa* (?). A close examination of the facsimile of this coin will show that there is space for only one *akshara* between the first two *aksharas maha* and the last *akshara sa.* As that *akshara* resembles the last *akshara*, it must be read as *sa.* The reading is definitely *mahasasa.* It cannot be *maharaṭhisa.* This demolishes completely the theory of Dr. Sircar about the *aksharas -napatisa Chuṭukulasa* following *mahasa-* on the elephant-type coins discussed above. There can, therefore, be no doubt now about the correctness of my reading of the legend of these elephant-type coins, viz. *Raṁño Saga-Māna-Mahasa[sa*]* and of its interpretation as '(This coin is) of the Śaka king Māna of the Mahisha (family).'

[1] Above, Vol. I, p. 9.

[2] *Stud. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 42, 43, 52 etc.

[3] *JNSI*, Vol. XI, p. 1, Pl. II, No. 9 ; *Stud. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 65 ; Pl. IV, No. 6.

[4] See attached Plate, No. 4.

We shall next take up the svastika-type coins with the legend *Mahāsenāpatisa Bharadaja-putasa Saga-Māna-Chuṭukulasa.* We need examine only one coin of this type viz. that illustrated here (No. 3) which was obtained in the excavations at Kondapur. It has the legend given above. Dr. Sircar's reading of this legend is not different. He only wants to emend *Bharadaja-putasa* into *Bharadajiputasa* on the ground that 'the natural inclination of any student of Sanskrit and Prakrit would be to take the passage to stand for Sanskrit *Bharadvājī-putrasya.* I have already disposed of this objection. It is noteworthy that this coin has medial vowels clearly marked in almost all cases. If the intended reading had been *Bharadaji-putasa,* there would have been a curve on *ja* in the legend of this well preserved coin. Students of ancient Indian numismatics know very well that patronymics occur on hundreds of coins of the Western Kshatrapas. They also occur in the inscriptions of the Śakas Ushavadāta and Śrīdharavarman. So there is no need to change *Bharadaja-putasa* into *Bharadaji-putasa.*

Dr. Sircar takes the legend to mean '(This coin is) of Mahāsenapati Chuṭukula of the Sagamas (i.e. of the Sagama family), son of a lady of the Bhāradvāja gōtra.' This interpretation is open to the following objections—(1) No such family as *Sagama* is known to history so far. (2) This interpretation takes no note of the symbols thunderbolt and arrow, which occur on most of the coins with this legend. These symbols are characteristic of the coins of the Śaka Kshatrapas Bhūmaka and Nahapāna.[1] In the whole range of ancient Indian numismatics they occur on the coins of no other dynasty. This circumstance renders probable the reference to the Śaka race as in the interpretation suggested by me, viz. that the coins are of the Śaka king Māṇa. This is also supported by a passage in the Purāṇas, which refers to the Śāka king Māna of the Mahisha family.[2] (3) *Chuṭukula* is not a personal name, but a family name, since it is added to such personal names as *Viṇhukaḍa* (see the Malavali inscription of Hāritīputra Vishṇukaḍa-Chuṭu-Sātakarṇi.[3]) Rapson also says that *Chuṭu,* like *Sātavāhana,* is the name of a clan.[4] Hence such names as *Chuṭukulānanda,* 'the joy of the Chuṭukula'.[5] Dr. Sircar is obliged to take *Chuṭukula* as a personal name because he passed over the personal name Māna in *Saga-Māna.* (4) *Sagamāna* is not the genitive of Sagama because it is not usual to use such partitive genitive expressions in the legends on coins. They occur in copper-plate inscriptions where there is no dearth of space. Besides, there is further on the mention of the family Chuṭukula. (5) The objection that the Śaka king Māna could not have been described both as *Mahisha* and also as *Chuṭukula* has not much weight. The dynastic name Mahisha was derived from the country of Māhishaka, over which he was ruling. Cf. *Mahishāṇāṁ mahīpatiḥ* in the Puranic passage cited above. He may have assumed the family name *Chuṭukula* in imitation of Viṇhukaḍa Chuṭukula, who ruled over the neighbouring province.[6] We have several instances of such senseless imitations in the ancient history of India. The Sātakarṇis, Kadambas, Chālukyas and Vākāṭakas described themselves as *Hāritīputras,*[7] though all of them could not have descended from a lady of the Hārīta gotra or from a sage named Hārīti. Nor were they all Buddhists. Several kings of ancient times assumed the title of *Trikaliṅg-ādhipati,* though all of them could not have ruled over the country of Trikaliṅga.[8]

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[1] Rapson, *Coins of the Andhras,* etc., Pl. IX.

[2] Pargiter, op. cit., p. 51.

[3] *Ep. Carn.,* Vol VII, Shikarpur, No. 263.

[4] Rapson, op. cit., p. liii.

[5] *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XIV, p. 331.

[6] [It may, however, be noted that both the dynastic name *Mahisha* and the family name *Chuṭukula* do not appear together in any single coin.—Ed.]

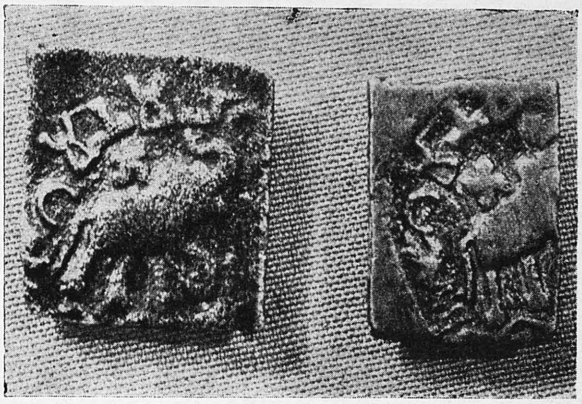
[7] Ibid., Vol. XIV, p. 333; above, Vol. VIII, p. 31; *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XIX, p. 16; above, Vol. XXVI, p.151.

[8] *CII,* Vol. IV, Introd., p.c.

தொல் பொருள் ...
நூலகம் - சென்னை

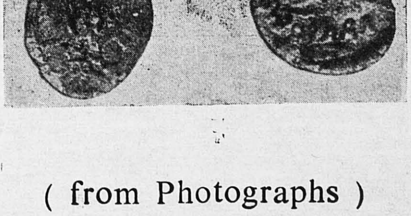
THE COINS OF MAHISHA KINGS

Nos. 1 and 2



No. 3

No. 4



(from Photographs)

The readings of the legends of these coins as well as their interpretation proposed by Dr. Sircar are wholly unacceptable. The objections to them may be briefly summed up as follows :—

(1) The sign behind the elephant's legs on the elephant-type coins is the word *Raṁño* and not a six-peaked symbol. No such symbol is known to occur in such a position on any coin.

(2) Partitive gentitive expressions like *Sagamāna* (Sanskrit, *Sagamānām*) are not known to occur on coins. On the other hand, Saga-Māna, if interpreted as Śaka Māna, has the support of the Purāṇas, which mention a Śaka king of that name, the ruler of the Mahishas.

(3) If *Mahasa* had been part of the title *Mahāsēnāpati*, it would have preceded the so-called family name *Sagama* in the legend on the elephant-type coins as on the svastika-type coins. There is not sufficient space for as many as nine letters after *mahasa* on these elephant-type coins. On the other hand, the reading *Mahasasa* is supported by the lion-type coin of this very king as shown by me.

(4) The reading *Bharadaja-putasa* is quite clear on a well preserved coin of the svastika type, which shows medial vowels quite clearly in almost all cases. Such patronymics are often mentioned in inscriptions and legends on coins.

(5) *Chuṭukula* is not the name of a king, but of a family as shown by the name *Chuṭukulānaṁda*.

(6) Dr. Sircar's readings and interpretation offer no explanation of the device of the thunderbolt and arrow seen on the reverse of the svastika-type coins. On the other hand, if these coins are ascribed to a Śaka king like Māna, they would show the connection of his family with the Śaka Kshatrapas Bhūmaka and Nahapāna. Such a device occurs on the reverse of the coins of no other family.

No. 10—PANUGALLU INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF HARIHARA II, SAKA 1319

(1 Plate)

V. S. SUBRAHMANYAM, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 24.7.1964)

The inscription[1] edited below is engraved at the bottom of the right wall of the gateway of the fort on the hill at **Pānugallu** in Kollapur Taluk of Mahbubnagar District, Andhra Pradesh. There is also a copy[2] of this record, engraved on a rock outside the same gateway, which has been edited and discussed by some scholars[3] previously. But since the historical significance of this inscription has not been properly made out by these scholars it is edited here, with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, giving the text of the former copy.

The copy chosen for study here is in 11 lines and covers an area of 2·35 m × 55 cm, while the other one is in 8 lines and occupies a space 2·90 m long and 33 cm broad. Both the copies are written in **Telugu characters,** normal for the period. The letters of the copy edited here are each about 4 cm high while those of the other copy are each about 3 cm high. The **language** of the record is Sanskrit and is in verse except for the passage containing the obeisance.

As regards **orthography,** the *anusvāra* is used for class nasal in several places; in some places the *anusvāra* is used unnecessarily as for instance *varēṁṇya* for *varēṇya* (line 5); the consonant following *r* is generally doubled (e.g., lines 3, 5, 8, 11); and the spelling of *alaṁkrutam* for *alaṁkṛitam* (line 7) and of *Yiṁmaḍi* for *Iṁmaḍi* (line 10) are due to the influence of local pronunciation.

The record refers itself to the reign of **Harihara II,** son of Bukka of the Saṁgama dynasty of Vijayanagara. The **object** of the inscription is to record the conquest of Pānugallu by one Dviguṇa-Bukka. The details of the date of the conquest are given as **Śaka 1319** (expressed by chronogram), **Īśvara, Pausha (Sahasya), śu. 11**(*Śaṁbhōr=dina*), **Sunday,**corresponding to the **30th December 1397 A.D.**

The record commences with obeisance to the preceptors[4] followed by verse 1 invoking the goddess of earth. Verse 2 is in praise of the god Gaṇapati and in the next verse the ruling king **Harihara II** is introduced as the son of Bukka I. This king's chief minister **Baicha-daṇḍādhipa** is described in verse 4. Verse 5 states that king Harihara appointed **Irugapa,** the son of Baicha, as his commander-in-chief (*daṇḍādhināthēśvara*). In verse 6 the younger brother of Irugapa, named **Dviguṇa-Bukkaṇa** is described simply as a ruler (*bhūmipāla*) although the territory over which he ruled is not specified. Verse 7 informs us of his conquest, on the date given above, of **Pānugallu** from the Muhammadan warriors. Verse 8 introduces one **Ananta-kshamāpati** as the son of Iṁmaḍi-Bukka, evidently the same as Dviguṇa-Bukka figuring in the previous verse.

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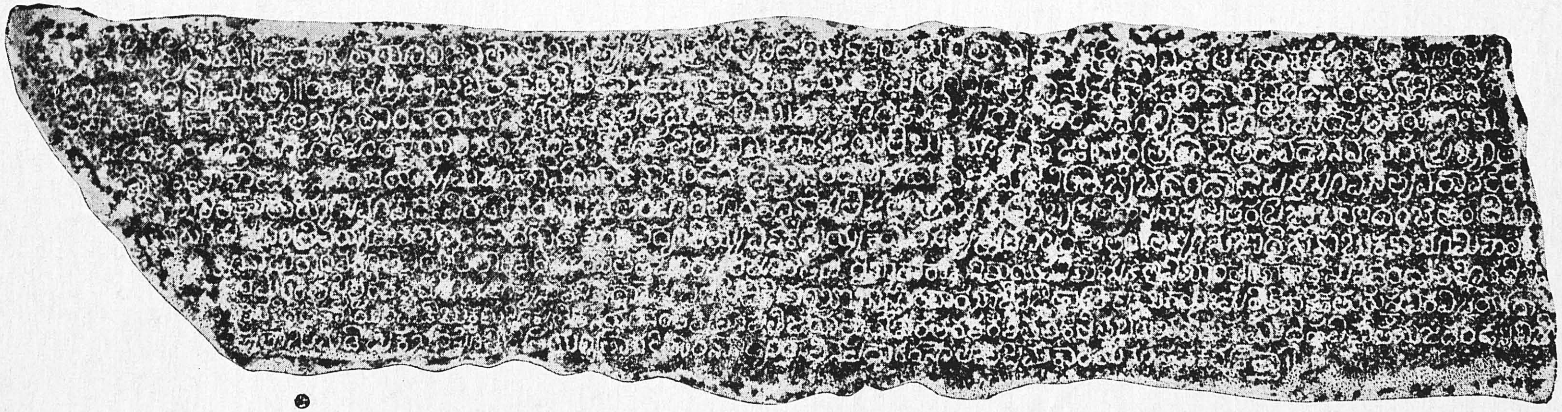
[1] This is *A.R. Ep.*, 1961-62, No. B 36.

[2] Ibid, No. B 35.

[3] *South Indian Research,* July 1920, Vol. II, pp. 172 ff. *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History* (Madras University Historical Series, No. 18), Vol. II, Text p. 18, No. 33; *History of the Reḍḍi Kingdom,* p. 184, note 24 (with a portion of the text); *Bhārati,* September 1963, pp. 58 ff.

[4] This obeisance is taken to have been made to Vidyāraṇyasvāmin, who was connected with the founding of the Vijayanagara empire. (*Bhārati,* loc. cit., p. 59). This need not be so.

PANUGALLU INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF HARIHARA II, SAKA 1319



Scale : One-Eleventh

6934 A

Though the purpose for introducing him here is not clear enough, the manner and the context in which he is introduced appear to suggest that he assisted his father in the capture of Pānugallu. Verse 9 states that this Iṁmaḍi-Bukka, having conquered Pānugallu, arranged for its embellishment with tanks, ramparts, step-wells and gateways provided with several mechanical contrivances.

Regarding the identification of Dviguṇa-Bukka or Iṁmaḍi-Bukka of this record, two views have been expressed by scholars. The first view is of M. Ramakrishna Kavi, according to which the word *tasya* in *tasy=ānuja* of verse 6 denotes Harihara who is mentioned in the previous verse and Dviguṇa-Bukka of this verse is the younger brother of that king.[1] This view was accepted by scholars like M. Somasekhara Sarma.[2] According to the second view, the word *tasya* denotes Irugapa and therefore Dviguṇa-Bukka was the younger brother of Irugupa.[3] Although this view has been referred to by K.H.V. Sarma, he was more inclined to accept the other view. From the point of view of grammatical construction of the passage, the word *tasya* in verse 6 can denote only Irugupa who is described in the second half of verse 5 which immediately precedes. Again the word *tasya* cannot denote king Harihara because he is mentioned in the first half of verse 5.[4] Moreover, to take Dviguṇa-Bukka as a younger brother of Harihara II would go against the known facts of history as the latter had no brother bearing that name. In order to solve this problem some scholars[5] have tried to emend the reading *tasy=ānuja* into *tasy=ātmaja* and have taken Dviguṇa-Bukka of the record under study to be the son of Harihara II. Owing to the fact that in both the copies of the record the expression *tasy=ānuja* is clealy written and that the word *tasya* of even this emended reading can only grammatically denote Irugupa as has been pointed out above, this emendation defeats its purpose. Therefore, Dviguṇa-Bukka of our record is none else than the brother of Irugapa-daṇḍādhipa and is the same as Iṁmaḍi-Bukka or Bukkaṇa described as a younger brother of Irugapa in two other records, one from Hampi[6] and the other from Śravaṇabeḷgoḷa.[7]

The epigraph is important in that it records the conquest of Pānugullu in Śaka 1319 by Iṁmaḍi-Bukka during the time of Harihara II and mentions for the first time Ananta, the son of Iṁmaḍi-Bukka.

The only geographical place-name occurring in this record is **Pānugallu** which is evidently the place where the epigraph is found

TEXT[8]

[Metres : Verse 1 *Upajāti* ; verses 2, 6 *Vasantatilakā* ; verse 3 *Prithvī* ; verses 4, 5, 7 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 8 *Gīti* ; verse 9 *Indravajrā*.]

1 Śrī-gurubhyō namaḥ || Upāsatē yāṁ janatā-vibhūtyai samagra-sasy-ōdaya-hētu-bhūtāṁ (tām) | kāmapradā vaḥ kalush-āpahaṁtrī bhūyā-

2 n=Mahī sā bhuvan-aika-mātā || [1*] Yaḥ shaṭpadān=uchita-vāṁchchhi(chhi)ta-dāna-dānād=āmōdayaty=amala-gaṁḍa-tal-ānushaktān [|*] vaṁdāra(ru)-vṛiṁda-vara-dāna-nidhāna-chi-

[1] *South Indian Research*, op. cit., p. 173. The text published here is full of errors.

[2] *History of the Reḍḍi Kingdom*, p. 184, note 24.

[3] *Bhārati*, September 1963, pp. 58 ff.

[4] The word *tasya* will denote Harihara of the first half of verse 5 only when the sentence there is constructed something like *yō Hariharaḥ*, etc.—a construction which is not supported by the text.

[5] *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, Vol. II, text p. 18, No. 33.

[6] *A. R. Ep.*, 1935-36, No. B 330.

[7] Above, Vol. VIII, p. 18, verse 5.

[8] From impressions.

3 ttaḥ pāyāt=sadā Gaṇapatir=bbhavatō=ṁtarāyāt || [2*] Namannra(n-nṛi)pati-maṁḍalī-mukuṭa-kūṭa-kōṭi-sphuran-maṇi-kiraṇa-mālika-mahita-pāda-paṁkēruhaḥ [|*] ma-

4 hī-Harihay-āhvayō **Harihara[ḥ*]** Svayaṁbhū-samō mahīśa-tilakō mahān jayati **Bukka-bhūp**-ātmajaḥ || [3*] Maṁtra-śrī-jita-dēva-dānava-guru[ḥ*] prakhyāta-

5 dhī-vaibhavaḥ śāstā durjjana-saṁchayasya mahatām=ānaṁdan-ānaṁdanaḥ [|*] viśvā-naṁdita-sad-guṇaḥ samajani śrī-**Baicha**-daṁḍādhipas=tasy=āmātya-varō varēṁ(rē)-

6 ṇya-charitaś=chāturyya-sīmā Vidhēḥ [||4*] Vīraśrī-varaṇ-ōchitaṁ Harihara-kshōṇīpatis=tat-sutaṁ sāṁ(sā)mrājya-pratipālanā-paṭutara-prajñā-bal-ōdaṁchitaṁ(tam)| dhīmā-

7 n=lrugapa[1]-mamtri-varyyam=akarō[d*]=daṁḍ-ādhināthēśvaraṁ vidyā-vīryya-vivēka-dhairyya-karuṇī-satya-ksham-ālamkru(kṛi)taṁ(tam) || [5*] Tasy=ānujō **Dviguṇa-Bukkaṇa**-bhūmipālaḥ

8 kshōṇī-dhurāṁ vahati vīryyavatāṁ varishṭaḥ(shṭhaḥ) [|*] yat-kīrtti-pūra-paripūrita-dig-vibhāgā rākāniśāy=iva niśāḥ sakalā vibhāṁti || [6*] **Śākābdēshu nidh-īṁdu-vahni-śaśibhiḥ**

9 **saṁmiśritēshv=Īśvarē varshē māsi sahasya-nāva(ma)ni** tathā **pakshē balakshē dinē** | **Śaṁbhōr=Bhāskā(ska)ravāra**-bhāji vijitā śrī-**Pānugalluḥ** purī tēn=ānēka-Turushka-vīra-vijaya-grā-

10 v-āvaḷī-vēllitā | [|7*] Yi(I)mmaḍi-Bukka-mahīpati-tanayō=**naṁta-kshamāpatir**=jayatāt | kharatara-śara-śata-śakalita-bala-bhara-mada-mudita-vimata-bhuja-daṁḍaḥ | [|8*] Viji-

11 tya tām=Immaḍi-Bukka-bhūpō vichitra-yaṁtr-āvaḷi-tōraṇ-ādyāṁ(ḍhyām) [|*] navīna-padmākara-sāla-vāpīm=akārayanū(n=nū)tana-karmma-karttā || [9*]

[1] Metre requires °*n=Irgapa*.

MGIPC—S1—6 DGA/64—26-9-67—750.

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1. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Volume II, Part II: Bharhut Inscriptions (pages i to xxxviii and 1 to 201 with 48 Plates, by H. Lüders and Revised by E Waldschmidt & M. H. Mehendale, 1963 Price Rs. 30.

2. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Volume IV : *Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era*, Parts I and II (pages 193 and 722 with 3 maps and 103 Plates), by V. V. Mirashi, M.A., D. Litt., 1955. Price Rs. 125.

3. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Volume V : *Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas* (pages 1 to 141 with one map and 42 Plates), by V. V. Mirashi, M. A., D. Litt., 1963. Price Rs 40.

4. *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, No. 10 : *The Gavimath and Pālkiguṇḍu Inscriptions of Aśoka* (pages 24 and 18 Plates), by R. L. Turner, M. C., M.A., D. Litt., 1952 (second impression). Price Rs. 10.

5. *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume V (1898-99), with a list of the Inscriptions of Northern India from about A. D. 400 by Prof. F. Keilhorn, C.I.E., Göttingen. Edited by E. Hultzsch, Ph. D. (Reprinted). Price Rs. 35.

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